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ABSTRACT

A picture of the present conditions of the Oglala Sioux Indian tribe is offered in an effort to provide insight into how to improve the life and spirit of this tribe of the northern plains. Socioeconomic characteristics and sociopsychological problems are utilized in describing the conditions. Information on their history and traditional culture is also included. Data for this report were gathered from the Baseline Data Study and other research conducted by Community Mental Health Program staff. Demographic information, history, economic factors, education, health and medical facilities, social organization, and mental and social disorders are included in the discussion. Remedies are suggested for the deficiencies found by the research. (SW)

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HECHEL LENA OYATE KIN NIPI KTE

THAT THESE PEOPLE MAY LIVE

CONDITIONS AMONG THE OGLALA SIOUX OF THE PINE RIDGE RESERVATION

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and

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COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH PROGRAM
PINE RIDGE SERVICE UNIT
ABERDEEN AREA
INDIAN HEALTH SERVICE
US PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
PINE RIDGE, SOUTH DAKOTA
1969

RC 003928

Wakan Tanka, be merciful to us always
To the heavens of the universe, I am sending a voice
I hold my pipe and offer it to You
That my people may live!

TO THE READER: It should be recognized that many of the opinions expressed throughout this report are personal ones of the authors.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

Purpose of Report....................................2
Sources of Information...............................3
The Baseline Data Study..............................3
Acknowledgements.....................................4

CHAPTER I - THE SETTING

Location...7
Political Divisions..................................7
Climate and Topography...............................9
Transportation......................................12
Communications......................................14

CHAPTER II - THE PEOPLE

Ethnic Composition..................................17
Language Patterns...................................19
Distribution of the Population......................21
Relations between Indians and Whites................22
Sex and Age Groups..................................24
Experience off the Reservation......................29
Indian Personality Traits and Values................31

CHAPTER III - HISTORY OF THE OGLALAS

Introduction..38
Across the Missouri.................................38
The End of Freedom..................................42
The Messiah Who Failed..............................46

CHAPTER IV - THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

Introduction..54
Outward Manifestations of the Economic Situation....56
Income Levels.......................................60
Employment Rates....................................60
Sources of Employment...............................64
Occupational Structure..............................66
Sources of Income...................................67
The Land - Leasing and Ownership....................68
Use of the Land.....................................74
Conclusions and Comments............................75

CHAPTER V - FORMAL EDUCATION

Introduction..81
Present Day Schools.................................84
Educational Levels..................................90
Underachievement and Dropouts.......................92
Factors Contributing to Lack of Motivation in Scholastic Achievement..94

CHAPTER VI - HEALTH AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

Traditional Medicine and Practitioners..............100
Medicine Men and Native Cures Today.................101
The Public Health Service and Other Sources of Medical Aid..103
Degree of Sickness and Disability...................106
Use of Medical Facilities and Attitude Toward PHS...107
Summary and Conclusions.............................109

CHAPTER VII - SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE FAMILY

Introduction..111
Composition of the Family...........................112
Composition of the Households.......................114
Kinship System......................................115
Male and Female Roles within the Family.............121

CHILD REARING

Early Childhood.....................................123
The Child from Six through Twelve Years.............125
Adolescence...126

THE COMMUNITY

The Community.......................................129

THE TRIBE

Traditional Structure...............................131
Tribal Structure Today..............................133
Law and Order.......................................139

CHAPTER VIII - MENTAL AND SOCIAL DISORDERS

Introduction..141
Extent of Psychiatric Disorder......................................141

SUICIDE ATTEMPTS

Suicide Attempts..147

DELINQUENCY

Rates of Delinquency..149
Juvenile Delinquency..153
Adult Delinquency...158

DRINKING

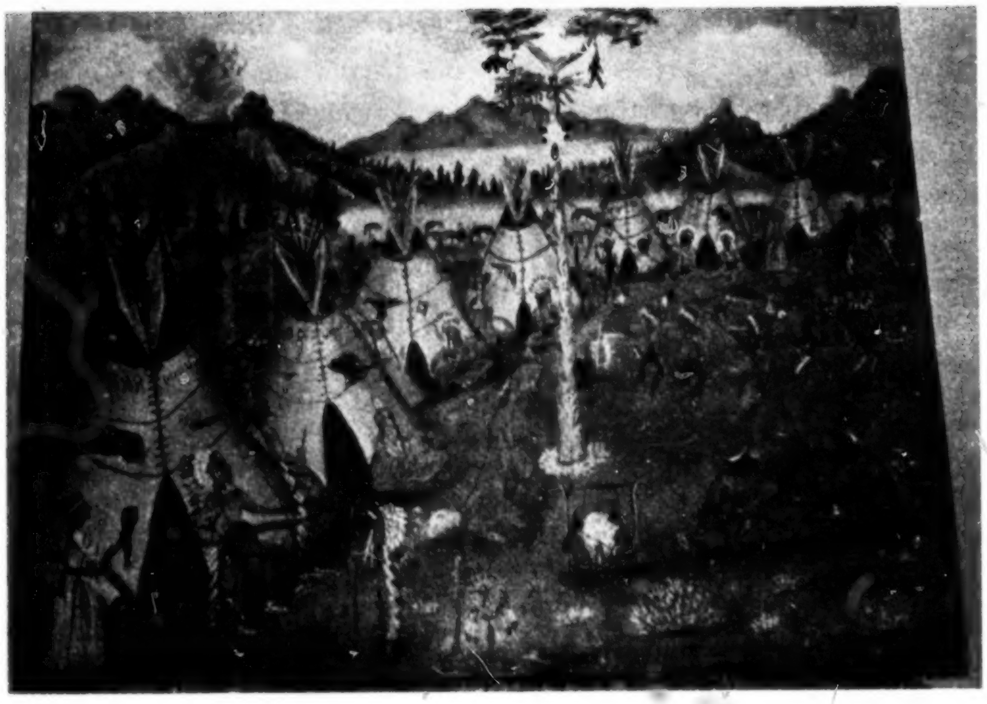
Drinking and Ethnic Group, Sex and Age..............................161
Drinking and Acculturation and Educational Level....................162
Drinking and Employment...162
Drinking and Economic Security......................................164
Drinking and HOS..164
Drinking as Related to Delinquency, FTSDP and Auto Accidents........164
Conclusions...165

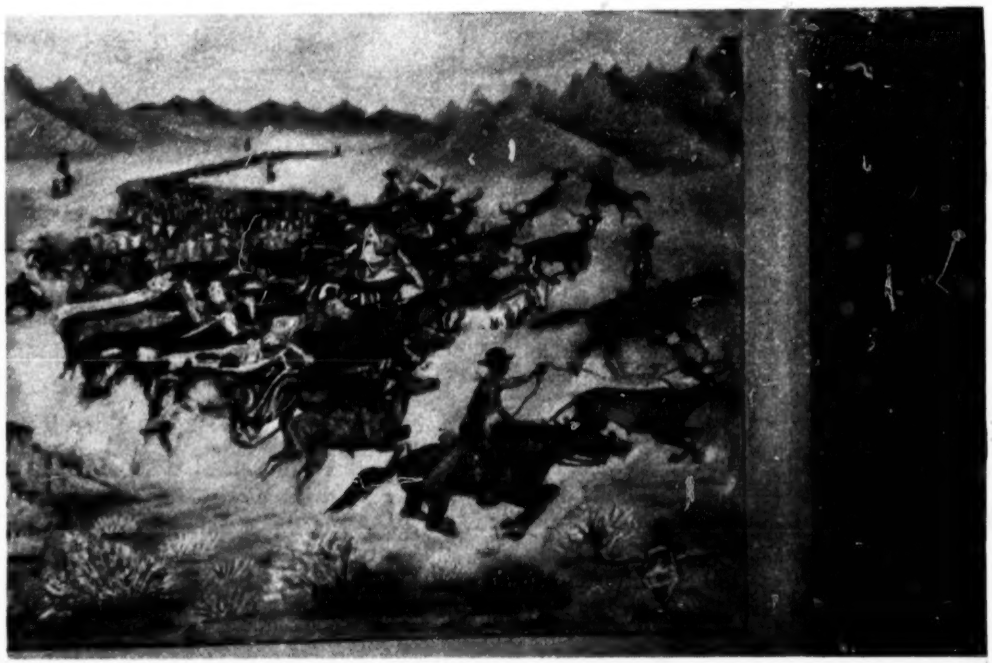
ACCIDENTS

Accidents...167

CHAPTER IX - CAUSES AND CURES

Summary of Conditions...169
Acculturation Situation...170
Over-Dependency and Powerlessness...................................173
Remedying the Situation...175





Two former periods in life of the Sioux
as depicted by Oglala artist, Jake Herman

PREFACE

Purpose of Report

Available information on North American Indians deals mainly with the traditional culture, that is the lifeways of Indians prior to or during the initial contact period. It is not that there is a lack of interest in the contemporary Indian. A great deal of research has been carried out among reservation and urban Indians, but the results (when published) are scattered throughout a variety of periodicals, institution reports, collections, etc. The point is that comprehensive studies of Indian groups today, with some outstanding exceptions, are not readily accessible or plentiful enough for the purpose of better understanding these often forgotten people.

It is hoped that this report will offer a picture of the present conditions of an Indian group and provide some insight into how to improve the life and spirit of the Oglala Sioux, one of the great tribes of the northern plains. In describing the conditions, we have concentrated on the socio-economic characteristics and the socio-psychological problems plaguing the Oglalas. We feel that the problems stem from the conditions which in turn result from the acculturation situation. Because of this, it has been necessary to include, but very superficially something of the history and traditional culture.

One of the purposes of this report is the keeping of a promise. A just complaint of the Indians here is that they have been over-researched with no apparent benefit and have rarely even been informed of the results. In talking with Oglala leaders during the planning phase of our research, we assured them that the results would be made available to their people. In consequence, we began publication on a bimonthly basis of the Pine Ridge Research Bulletin in January of 1968. Included in the Bulletin are not only the results of research carried out by members of the Community Mental Health Program (CMHP) but also the contributions of others primarily concerned with the Sioux. This report is also meant to provide feedback to the people of the Pine Ridge Reservation, but in a more concise and integrated form than in the Bulletin and intended for a wider audience.

The ultimate, but most important objective is to generate impetus for remedying the situation on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Now is the time to utilize the results of research for the purposes of development and we have made some suggestions to that purpose.

Sources of Information

The main sources of information for this report are the Baseline Data Study and other research, of a formal and informal nature, undertaken by the Community Mental Health Program (CMHP) staff. Also utilized, especially in regard to the cultural and historical background material, are the reports of other investigators. Let us say that their work has helped to put more flesh on the skeleton of the statistical data we have accumulated.

We would like to emphasize, however, that we are reporting in descriptive form on mainly the results of CMHP research. It is hoped that in the future we will be able to expand some of the major sections of this report into separate monographs which will incorporate the significant findings of other researchers.

The Baseline Data Study

A reservationwide census-survey called the Baseline Data Study was initiated in the autumn of 1967 and completed in late winter of 1968. This study was made possible by the Indian Health Service, a branch of the U.S. Public Health Service, which included in its plans for the Community Mental Health Program (CMHP) at Pine Ridge the carrying out of a baseline study. It was felt that such a study was necessary due to the lack of: 1. Basic demographic and socio-economic data on the Pine Ridge Reservation population and 2. Knowledge as to the extent and etiology of socio-psychological problems on the Reservation. The results would be invaluable in program planning and provide a basis for measuring change.

The execution of the Baseline Data Study was, however, an example of inter-agency cooperation. The local Office of Economic Opportunity lent us very competent personnel to help with the interviewing and Mrs. Hilda Horn Cloud of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) at Pine Ridge provided us with census material. The aid of these agencies greatly facilitated the carrying out of the study.

The interview schedule, formulated by CMHP personnel, consisted of two parts. The first part (the demographic data sheet) which included demographic and some socio-economic information, was filled out by the interviewer for all members of a household. The second part, the complete questionnaire, was administered to one adult member of the household. Those respondents who answered the complete questionnaire comprise the sample population. This part of the interview schedule asked more detailed information in regard to socio-economic characteristics and included a number of attitude questions and a mental health index.

Attempts were made to contact every Indian and Non-Indian household on the Reservation, including those located in the ceded portion - Bennett County. In case of refusal or temporary absence (about 4% of the households), the demographic data sheets were filled out from available information. The interviewers were trained by CMHP research personnel and all were local people and so acquainted with their assigned territories.

To insure as complete coverage as possible, a name file was set up, using available lists of inhabitants, i.e., BIA census, school and property lists. As interviews were completed, the name cards were marked. In cases where the person was not already in the file, a card was made. At the end of the initial interviewing period, all unmarked cards were removed from the files and attempts made to locate these people. Because of the extensiveness of the Reservation and the mobility of the population, this clean-up phase was the most time-consuming and expensive part of the interviewing operation. An especially hardy group of interviewers was recruited to locate the missing individuals and if still on the Reservation, to interview them. It was found that a high percentage of the "missing" people were no longer living on the Reservation.

All coding, key punching on IBM cards and processing of basic data were carried out by members of the CMHP research staff. Analysis of data requiring high level statistical techniques was under the able direction of Dr. Bernard Spilka, consulting psychologist at the University of Denver, using the university's computer center.

Data accumulated from the Baseline Data Study have made it possible to report with considerable accuracy on the conditions and problems and to suggest some of the causative factors involved in socio-psychological problems confronting the Oglalas. Also, having established a demographic basis, we are able to gauge the extent of the problems through comparison with other populations.

Acknowledgements

CMHP has been fortunate indeed in the competency and dedication of the members of the research staff who had the responsibility for the collection and compilation of much of the information utilized in this report. The following individuals have been or are now part of the research staff: Lucille Cuny, copy editor of the Pine Ridge Research Bulletin and this report and in charge of the interviewers and the clerical staff during the carrying out of the Baseline Data Study; Arlene Stuart, in charge of Non-Indian interviewing; Roger Kihega and Sylvia Whipple, data processors; the research aides who have been involved in a variety of research projects: Eileen Grinnell, Melvina Lone Hill, Belva Long Wolf and Levi Mesteth, Jr.; and the clerical staff who also doubled as interviewers and coders: Mary Big Crow, Phyllis Clifford, Carmel Cuny and Margaret Roubideaux.

Mention should be made of the following present and past members of the CMHP staff who have generously contributed ideas, advice and inspiration in our research operations and/or have aided in proofreading and editing the monograph:

Harold Bear Runner - Mental Health Aide
Pearl Black Elk - Secretary
Robert Church - Social Worker
Yvonne Giago - Secretary
S. Eleanore Gill - Mental Health Nurse Consultant
Maurice Miller - Psychiatric Social Worker
Carl Mindell, M.D. - Psychiatrist and Former Director
Donald Ostendorf - Medical Social Worker
Marvin Rosow - Psychiatric Social Worker and Acting Director
Stephen Silk - Psychology Graduate Student
Paul Stuart - Social Worker
Delpha Waters - Head Secretary
James Wills - Medical Social Worker

Also offering invaluable assistance in the preparation of the report were the following individuals:

Elizabeth Glasow - Chief, Area Social Services Branch, Aberdeen
Luis Kemnitzer, PhD - Anthropologist, San Francisco State College
Paul Moss - Former Service Unit Director, Pine Ridge
Bernard Spilka, PhD - Psychologist, University of Denver
Leo Vocu - CAP Director, Pine Ridge Reservation
Gilbert Voyat, PhD - Psychologist, Yeshiva University
Harley Zephier - Service Unit Director, Pine Ridge

Last, but hardly least, we would like to pay tribute to our interviewers who steadfastly gathered the raw data which made the Baseline Study a reality.

Interviewers for the Baseline Data Study

Anthony G. Apple
Don Bear Runner
Mary Big Crow
Trivean Blacksmith
Casey Blue Bird
Violet Brave Heart
Isabelle Bull Bear
Margaret Cherry
Phyllis Clifford
Dorothy Coats
Stanley Cook
Carmel Cuny
Lucille Cuny
John Dale
Rick Dale
Evva Dennison
Margaret Fay
Peter Fast Wolf
Marlene Foote
Oliver Garnier, Sr.
Joshua Gay
Eileen Grinnell
Wilma Grooms
Phyllis Gustafson
William Hawkins
Mildred High Bull
Zachary High Whiteman
Margaret Hoffman
Oscar Hollow Horn
Christine Iron Cloud
Victoria Iron Cloud
Emma Jacobs
Geraldine Janis
Mabel Janis
Jean Kearns
Owana Kidd
Louise Kuckert
Melvina Lone Hill
David Long
Belva Long Wolf
Irma Maldonado
Fred Mesteth, Sr.
Levi Mesteth, Jr.
Lizzie Mesteth
Jasper Milk
Delores Mills
Pearl Mindell
Ellen Moves Camp
Leola Quiver
Mabel Rosales
Margaret Roubideaux
Betty Sasaki
Elder Pomeiti Sen
Robert Shebal
Rose Shott
Lyle Skalinder
Terry Slater
Della Mae Starr
Margaret Steele
Arlene Stuart
May Tech
Rose Thunderbull
Matthew Two Bulls
Lavonne Waldner
Diana Ward
Howard Wilcox
Carol Willert
Garfield Wounded Head
Amelia Yellow Thunder
Elder Young

CHAPTER I

THE SETTING

Location

Home to most Oglala Sioux is the Pine Ridge Reservation located near the southwestern corner of the state of South Dakota (see Map 1). The southern border coincides with the Nebraska state line so that ties of a commercial and recreational nature are almost as extensive with Nebraska as with South Dakota.

The Indian neighbors of the Oglalas are the Brulé or Rosebud Sioux whose reservation (Rosebud Reservation) borders on the east of the Pine Ridge Reservation. Due to geographical proximity, cultural affinity and intermarriage; social exchanges are frequent between the two groups and tribal affiliations are often blurred in the border areas.

One can say that the Reservation is a marginal tourist area because of being wedged between the Black Hills to the west and the Badlands to the north. The Oglalas, however, have taken little advantage of this strategic position to grab a piece of the tourist dollar. Nevertheless, a few curious tourists wander into the area from time to time, especially during the period of the Sun Dance which is held annually in early August.

Political Divisions

The Pine Ridge Reservation is the second largest reservation in the United States. Its area of 2,786,540 acres or 4,353 square miles makes it over twice the size of the state of Delaware. Rectangular in form, the Reservation is approximately 50 miles wide and 100 miles long.[1] The boundaries were fixed in 1889. Shortly after that, however, a portion of the Rosebud Reservation was added to Pine Ridge, making Black Pipe Creek rather than Pass Creek the northeastern borderline.

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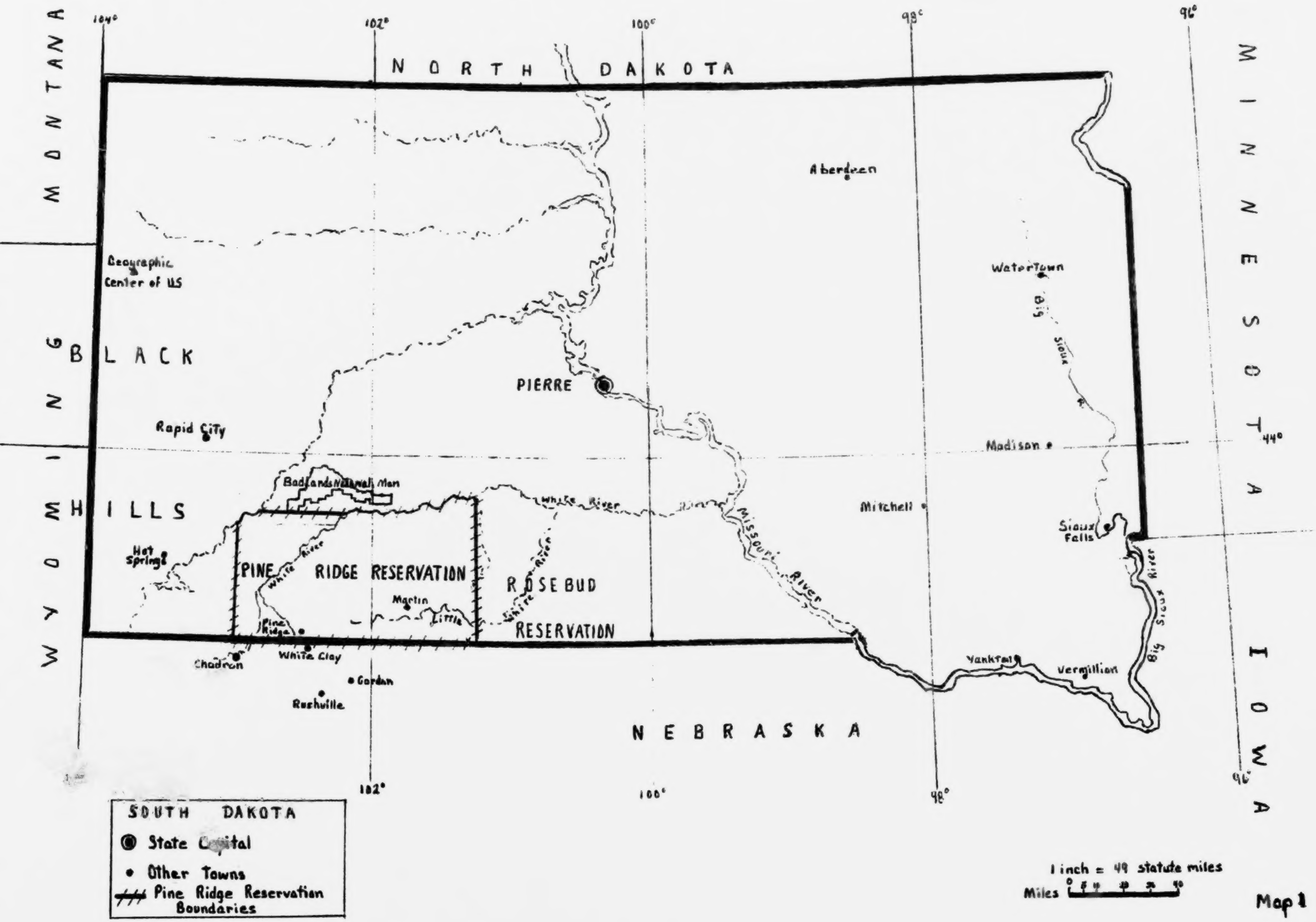
[1] Information from the Land Operations Branch of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pine Ridge.


MONTANA
NORTH DAKOTA
MINNESOTA
IOWA
NEBRASKA
WYOMING
104°
102°
100°
98°
96°
44°
BLACK HILLS
Geographic Center of US
Rapid City
Hot Springs
Badlands National Mon
PINE RIDGE RESERVATION
White River
Pine Ridge
Martin
Little White River
ROSEBUD RESERVATION
Chadron
White Clay
Gordon
Rushville
PIERRE
Missouri River
Aberdeen
Watertown
Big Sioux R.
Madison
Mitchell
Sioux Falls
Big Sioux River
Yankton
Vermillion
SOUTH DAKOTA
State Capital
Other Towns
Pine Ridge Reservation Boundaries
1 inch = 49 statute miles
Miles 0 5 10 20 30 40

Map 1

The political divisions are of two kinds. First is the division into three counties: Shannon, Washabaugh and Bennett (see Map 2). Only the latter is an organized county with its own government and for this reason is sometimes referred to as "the ceded portion of the Reservation." However, Indian trust land still exists in Bennett County and Indian residents are represented in the Tribal Council. In the unorganized counties of Shannon and Washabaugh, transactions requiring the use of county offices are carried out in the county seats of neighboring counties: Hot Springs in Fall River County for Shannon County residents and Kadoka in Jackson County for Washabaugh residents.

The second division is into eight political districts: Eagle Nest, LaCreek, Medicine Root, Pass Creek, Porcupine, Wakpamni, White Clay and Wounded Knee (see Map 2). This division functions mainly for the election of representatives to the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council. The present division was agreed upon by referendum on December 14, 1935. It was based on the farm or boss farmer districts of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) which were then in operation. Formerly the BIA was less centralized and a boss farmer, whose role was roughly equivalent to the superintendent or agent except on a district level, was stationed in each district. The only alteration made in the districting was to create an eighth district by dividing Pass Creek into two districts: Pass Creek and LaCreek.

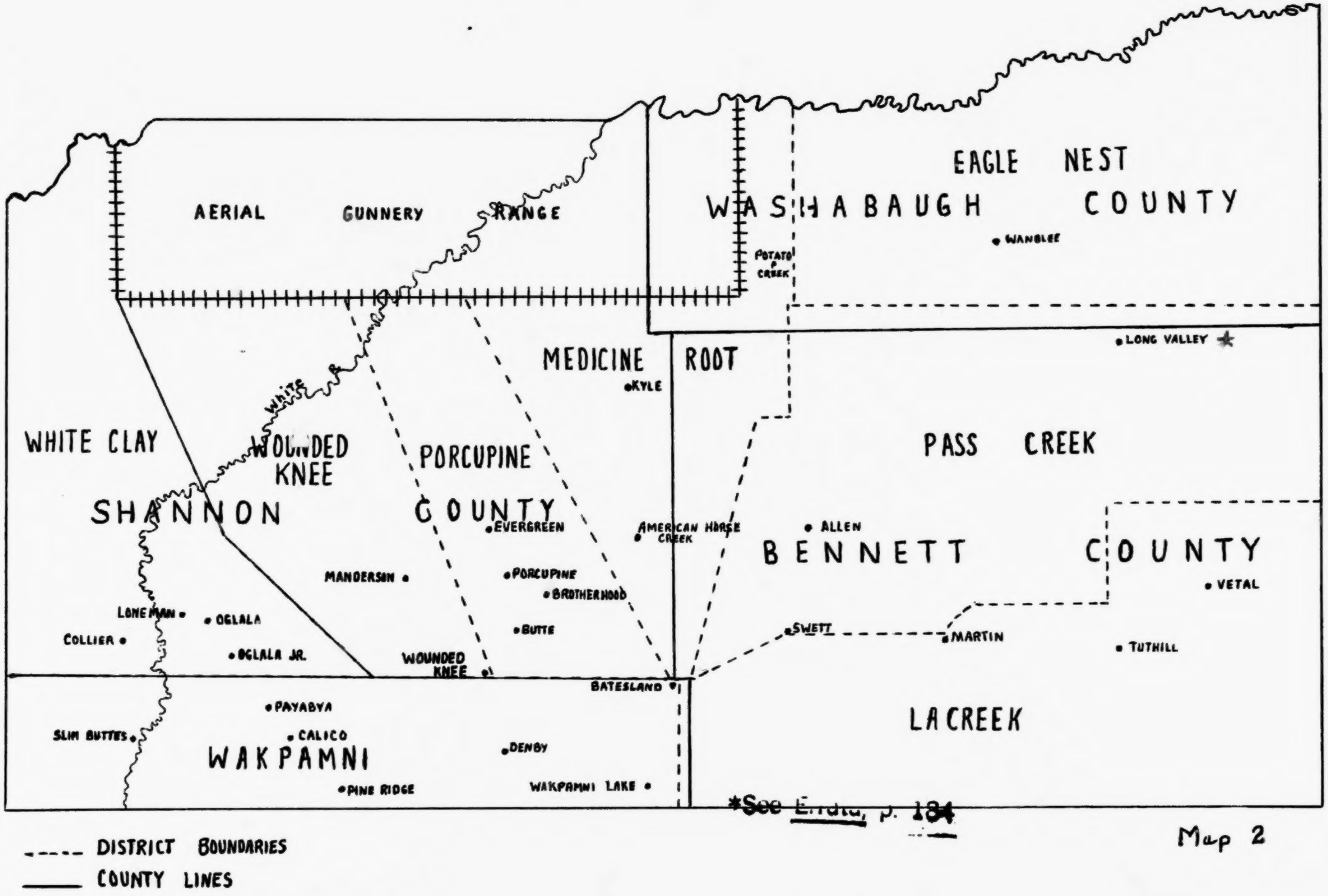
Climate and Topography

The Pine Ridge area is sometimes jokingly called "the banana belt of South Dakota," a not entirely erroneous description of the climate as compared to adjacent regions. Sometimes, storms raging nearby bypass most of the Reservation area. Last year the mean temperature in January was 23.3°F and in August 73.5°F, but temperature extremes may range from approximately 25° below zero in winter to 115° in summer. Sunshine prevails a good part of the year (62% last year) and the average annual precipitation is 19.0 inches, making for a comparatively dry climate. Annual rates of precipitation have varied from 8 to 42 inches.

It would be a gross deception, however, to describe the Pine Ridge climate as completely benign. The area by no means escapes the more destructive vagaries of nature. Blizzards of a day or two in duration may occur any time between October and early May with sometimes disastrous results to humans, cattle and crops. Seldom a winter passes without the tragic loss of life, directly or indirectly attributable to blizzard conditions.

PINE RIDGE RESERVATION

DISTRICTS AND COUNTIES


AERIAL GUNNERY RANGE
WASHABAUGH COUNTY
EAGLE NEST
WANBLEE
POTATO CREEK
LONG VALLEY
MEDICINE ROOT
KYLE
PASS CREEK
WHITE CLAY
WOUNDED KNEE
PORCUPINE
SHANNON COUNTY
WHITE R.
EVERGREEN
AMERICAN HORSE CREEK
ALLEN
BENNETT COUNTY
VETAL
MANDERSON
PORCUPINE
BROTHERHOOD
LONEMAN
OGLALA
COLLIER
OGLALA JR.
BUTTE
SWETT
MARTIN
TUTHILL
WOUNDED KNEE
BATESLAND
LACREEK
PAYABYA
CALICO
SLIM BUTTES
WAKPAMNI
DENBY
PINE RIDGE
WAKPAMNI LAKE
----- DISTRICT BOUNDARIES
—— COUNTY LINES

*See Errata, p. 184

Map 2

The most outstanding characteristic of the weather is the strong wind which may sweep across the plains at any season, with gusts up to 50 miles per hour or more. Also destructive to agriculture are periodic drought conditions and unseasonable frosts.

The altitude of the Reservation ranges from 2100 to 3500 feet above sea level. The lowest elevation is in the eastern part of the Reservation between Wanamaker and Norris. The highest points are found in the Sand Hills (in the south-central section of the Reservation) and in the Slim Buttes area west of Pine Ridge village.[2]

The typography is characterized by rolling plains covered with buffalo grass; interlaced by creeks, buttes, ravines and low ridges. The western part of the Reservation is cattle country with a mellow, semi-arid and open aspect. The eastern side is more agricultural and thus greener and more middlewestern in appearance. To many, the Reservation panorama would appear somewhat monotonous because of the lack of greenery, forests and mountains; but it has a beauty of its own, a tranquility and an openness which makes one feel unfettered and close to the sky. Also the landscape in places is dominated by the ghost-like grotesqueness of the Badlands' formations, beautiful in their starkness.

In pre-conquest times, the plains were mainly treeless except along the creeks where cottonwood, pine, willow and a variety of oak were found. Also indigenous to the region were hackberry and buffalo berry shrubs and chokecherry and wild plum trees. After White settlement, trees such as the box elder, elm, poplar and various evergreens were introduced. Adding color to the prairies in the spring and summer are a variety of wild flowers including sunflowers, sagebrush, bluebells, thistle, larkspur, etc.

Now that the buffalo herds have disappeared, the large remaining fauna are deer, antelope, coyote and bobcats. Smaller animals include prairie dogs, porcupines, badgers, weasels, skunks, rabbits, beavers and foxes. Many varieties of birds abound in the area including magpies, crows, western meadowlarks, bluejays, sparrows, robins, chicken hawks and buzzards. The common reptiles are the timber rattlesnake, copperhead, blue racer, bull snake and garter snake.

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2. Information on weather and altitude from Rufus Williams, Land Operations Branch, BIA, Pine Ridge.

Transportation

The Reservation is fairly well serviced by a network of asphalt, oiled and dirt roads which are maintained by the BIA, the counties and the state. U.S. Highway 18 runs from the southwestern section of the Reservation through Pine Ridge village and on to the eastern portion of the Reservation. Other asphalt highways are State Highway 73 running from Martin, north to Kadoka and the Badlands and the BIA Highway from Wanblee through Kyle on to Wounded Knee junction on Highway 18. The latter road (known as the Big Foot Trail) is the most important for internal travel on the Reservation because it links many of the outlying population centers such as Wanblee, Kyle, Porcupine, Manderson and Wounded Knee and makes travel to Pine Ridge village fairly easy (except during thaws or after heavy rains when portions of the road may be flooded). All together the BIA maintains 223 miles of surfaced roads on the Reservation as well as about 287 miles of ungraded and unsurfaced roads (see Map 3).

The Oglalas are still somewhat semi-nomadic and in consequence, they have accepted the automobile as avidly as they once took to the horse. Nearly every isolated house in the country is surrounded by cars, many of which are not operative, but serve as a reservoir of spare parts and storage places and at times for sleeping purposes. Few Indian families can afford new cars so that often a secondhand car must be replaced annually. The most popular make of cars are Chevrolets and Fords, 1955-58 models, and a favorite seems to be the two-toned sedan. One of the sounds characteristic of the Reservation is the noise of chugging or wheezing cars caused by the malfunctioning of worn-out parts.

Two-thirds of the Indian households have a car or truck. Most Non-Indian households (93%) have at least one vehicle. Among Indians in the sample population,[3] over half (51%) personally own a car as compared to 83% of the Non-Indians. In regards to the age of the car, 36% of the Indians and 73% of the Whites have cars less than five years old. More Full Bloods (36%) than Mixed Bloods (16%) have cars more than ten years old. Because of ranch operations more Whites (47%) and Mixed Bloods (20%) than Full Bloods (5%) are owners of trucks.

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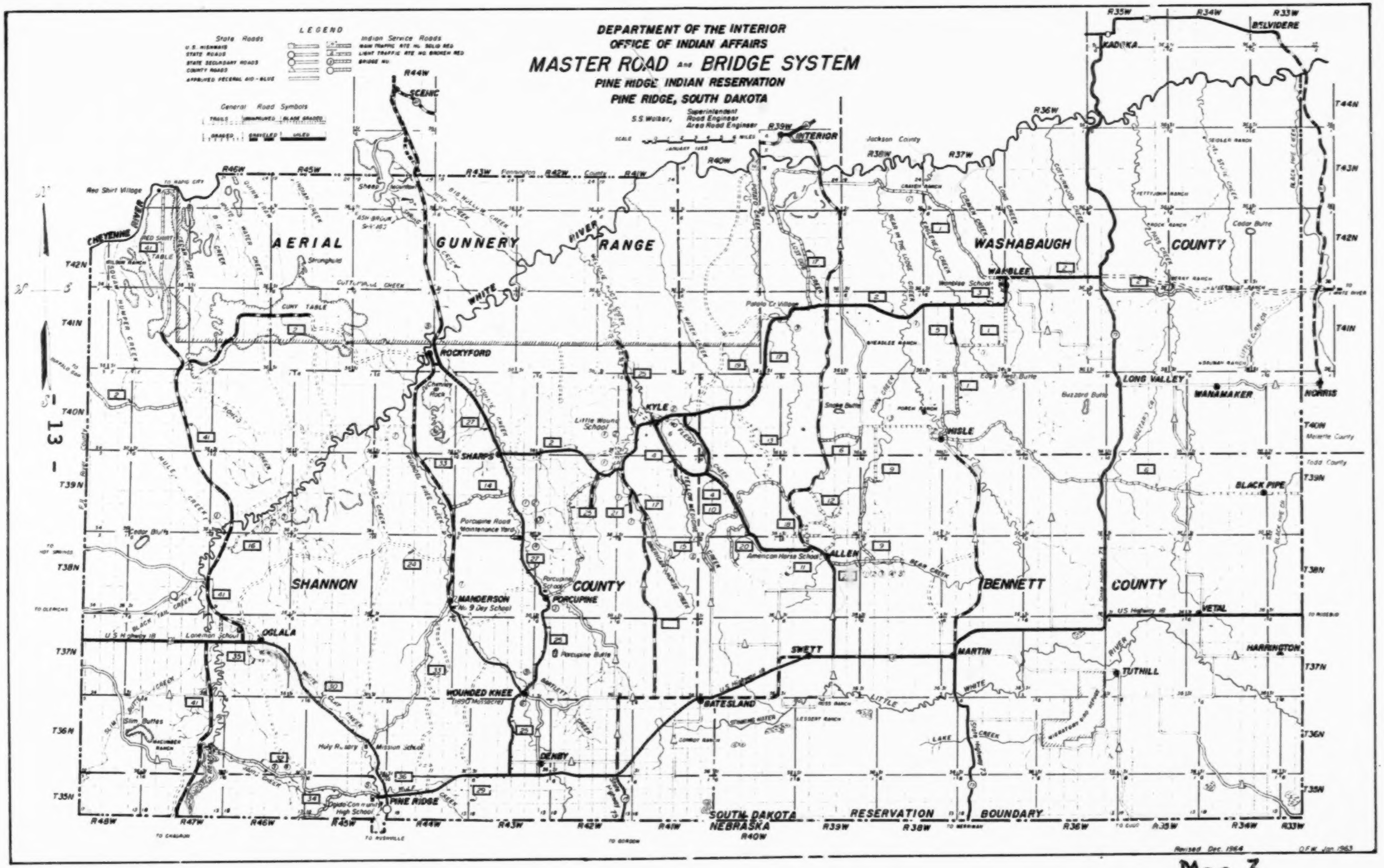
[3] Sample population refers to the adults who answered the complete questionnaire on the Baseline Data Study. Although basic demographic information was obtained on all household members, only one adult in each household answered the complete questionnaire. The sample population consists of 1555 Indians and 1040 Non-Indians.


DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
MASTER ROAD AND BRIDGE SYSTEM
PINE RIDGE INDIAN RESERVATION
PINE RIDGE, SOUTH DAKOTA
S.S. Wolber, Superintendent
Road Engineer
Area Road Engineer
LEGEND
State Roads
Indian Service Roads
General Road Symbols
AERIAL GUNNERY RANGE
WASHABAUGH COUNTY
SHANNON COUNTY
BENNETT COUNTY
WHITE RIVER
CHEYENNE RIVER
KADOKA
BELVIDERE
SCENIC
INTERIOR
WANBLEE
ROCKYFORD
KYLE
SHARPS
LONG VALLEY
WANAMAKER
NORRIS
INTERIOR
MANDERSON
PORCUPINE
OGLALA
WOUNDED KNEE
ALLEN
SWETT
MARTIN
BATESLAND
DENBY
PINE RIDGE
TUTHILL
HARRINGTON
VETAL
BLACK PIPE
SOUTH DAKOTA
NEBRASKA
RESERVATION BOUNDARY
Revised Dec. 1964
O.F.W. Jan. 1963

Map 3

For the family without a vehicle, transportation presents a problem because there is no public bus service either within the Reservation or to communities outside of the Reservation. If family or friends cannot be persuaded to provide a ride, the only alternative is to hire someone which is costly, i.e., the fee to drive someone from Wanblee to Pine Ridge village, a distance of 100 miles, is $20.00. To some, the purchase of a car is a capital investment because of providing income through hauling passengers.

A small landing field is located outside of Pine Ridge village which makes it possible to charter planes for emergency purposes from companies in nearby border towns. Chartered flights are used mainly by the Public Health Service (PHS) to transport patients and by government officials. To obtain commercial flights one must drive either to Chadron, Nebraska located about 55 miles from Pine Ridge village (Frontier Airlines) or to Rapid City, South Dakota, a distance of 114 miles from Pine Ridge village.

Although now little used as a means of transport, the horse is still an important cultural symbol. Various breeds, including range horses plus Appaloosa and Quarter horses, are bred for ranching and recreational purposes. Most children in the districts learn to ride at an early age and horsemanship is still an admired skill among the Oglalas.

Communications

It is said that the most efficient means of communication on the Reservation is the "moccasin telegraph" or person to person communication which spreads important bits of news and gossip across the Reservation as rapidly as a prairie fire. Technical communications facilities, however, are lacking. Few households have telephones (approximately 26% compared to 85% in the general U.S. population).[4] This presents problems in cases of an emergency. The usual recourse is to utilize the police to relay messages, but not all communities have police. Public telephones available on a 24 hour service basis are scarce and in fact nonexistent in the districts.

Nearly every household has a radio and almost every home with electricity has a television set. (60% of Indian homes and 99% of White homes have electricity, but among Indians, only 40% of the Full Blood households as compared to 81% of Mixed Blood households have electricity). One or two channels are available depending on one's location on the Reservation. Those living in Pine Ridge village receive CBS-ABC programs from Hay Springs, Nebraska and NBC programs from a Rapid City station.

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[4] The Bison State Telephone Company provides telephone service mainly to Shannon County. As of November 1968, Bison was servicing 269 residential telephones. The 26% includes both Indian and Non-Indian households.

The most frequently listened to radio stations are those featuring country and western music, but the younger generation prefers those stations that emphasize rock and roll. Indian televiewers enjoy the movies, western sagas and variety and comedy shows. Gomer Pyle and the Beverly Hillbillies are special favorites.

The only Reservation newspaper dealing mainly with Indian affairs is the War Cry put out by the local Office of Economic Opportunity and issued about every two weeks.[5] The avidness with which the War Cry is read demonstrates the need for this type of periodical. Other newspapers concerned primarily with Reservation news are two weeklies: The Shannon County News published in Hot Springs and the Bennett County Booster published in Martin. Other widely read periodicals are the News-Star, a weekly that dispenses news of Sheridan County, Nebraska, (a bordering county to the south), and the daily Rapid City Journal. A few residents subscribe to the Omaha World Herald. Also subscribed to by the rancher-farmer population are various agricultural peiodicals.

Few periodicals and books are available for purchase on the Reservation. One store in Pine Ridge village sells a variety of magazines including a few of the better known news and women's magazines plus a number of romance, sports and western magazines and comic books. The general stores at Sharps and Kyle sell a few magazines and it's possible to buy books on Indian history at the Wounded Knee store.

There is a public library in Martin, and at the Pine Ridge Public School in Pine Ridge village which caters mainly to the school's children, but also has books and periodicals for adults. The library has a full-time librarian and is open to the public weekdays and on Tuesday and Thursday evenings. Also serving Shannon and Washabaugh counties is a bookmobile service, sponsored jointly by the state and counties. Small collections of books for community use are found at the Cafe in Kyle and in the Community Centers in Porcupine and Wanblee.

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5. The War Cry is at the time of writing this report not being published, but it is hoped that this periodical will be able to resume publication in the near future.

Postal service is, in general, fairly efficient. However, there are only a few mail routes and in consequence, most people have to go to the post office to receive mail. All of the larger communities have a post office and in the districts especially, the people gather and exchange gossip daily at mail time. Many of the stores in the smaller communities also house the post office. Thus the postmaster and storekeeper are often the same person and it is he or she who is generally the most knowledgeable person in matters of community news and the whereabouts of individuals. Because there is only one bank on the Reservation (in Martin), the issuing of postal money orders is an important service.

There is no telegraph service on the Reservation. The nearest Western Union offices are at Gordon, Nebraska, approximately 36 miles from Pine Ridge village and Chadron, Nebraska, but telegrams may be sent by telephoning the Chadron office.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE

Ethnic Composition

The Oglala Sioux[1] were originally the leading and most populous division of the mighty Teton Dakota. Today the Oglalas share their reservation with the White man and a few Indians from other tribes. The Pine Ridge Reservation is 74% Indian. Among the approximately 10,000 Indians, 52% are Mixed Blood and 48% Full Blood.[2] 49% of the Indian population is Mixed Blood Oglala, 3% Mixed Blood from another tribe, 46% Full Blood Oglala, and 2% Full Blood from another tribe. The alien Indian group most represented is that of the Rosebud Sioux.

As one would expect, the percentage of Mixed Bloods is increasing so that among Indians less than 30 years of age, Mixed Bloods are in the majority. Full Bloods comprise about 60% of the population 60 years and older, but only 41% among those under 5 years of age.

The process of racial mixing began with the first appearance of the trappers and traders, many of whom were French. The French ancestry of many Indians is apparent in the prevalence of such last names as LeDeaux, Bissonette, Roubideaux, etc. Later came the soldiers, cowboys, and ranchers of varying ethnic groups including some Mexicans whose descendants have names like Hernandez, Zimiga, etc. Today intermarriage is especially common between Full Bloods and Mixed Bloods; less prevalent but not uncommon between Mixed Bloods and Whites, but fairly rare between Full Bloods and Whites.

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[1] The word Oglala meant scattered or divided or more loosely "divided into many small bands." See Hyde, Red Cloud's Folk, p. 8. Sioux is said to be a French corruption of a Chippewa word meaning "adder."

[2] Ethnic group was determined on the basis of the respondent's perception of his ethnic group, not on blood quantum, although the two are closely related. Some Indians of less than 8/8 Indian blood listed themselves as Full Bloods.

The distinction between Full Bloods and Mixed Bloods is not merely one of blood degree but involves considerable cultural differences which will become apparent in later discussions of the socio-economic characteristics of the population. Suffice it to say that the level of acculturation of Mixed Bloods is, in general, higher than among Full Bloods and that the Indians themselves make a distinction between the two groups which results sometimes in a destructive factionalism.

There are no exact criteria for identifying Full Bloods or Mixed Bloods. Although Mixed Bloods are generally lighter in skin and hair coloring (some to the point of being called "White Indians"), physical appearance is hardly a trustworthy criterion of identification. Language is a better but by no means infallible guide. Nearly all Full Bloods are fluent in Lakota; while many Mixed Bloods, especially in the younger age groups, cannot speak the Indian language. As far as last names are concerned, the person with a Non-Indian name (except in the case of married women) is nearly always a Mixed Blood, but the person with an Indian name can be either a Full Blood or a Mixed Blood.

This might be a good time to say something about Indian names. In traditional Sioux society, names were often bestowed as a result of an event or some personal characteristic (i.e., Kills Crow, Returns From Scout, Scabby Face, Pretty Hips) and names could be changed in the course of a lifetime. With the incursion of White customs and bureaucracy, the Indians were forced to accept the patronymic pattern of the Whites. This did not, however, insure persistence in the use of the last name rather arbitrarily given by the Agency. Today, much to the vexation of record keepers and researchers, some Indians are known by two or even three last names. The reasons for the multiple name pattern are the shortening of a Indian name, i.e., Long Soldier to Long; the use of the name of the household head where one is living, i.e., the use of a maternal grandparent's name; the substitution of an Anglo-Saxon name for an Indian name, i.e., Freeman for Red Bear; or the reverting to a name used by an ancestor. Incidentally, it is quite common to change one's given name completely or to be known by a middle name or nickname.

To return to the ethnic composition of the Reservation, over one third of the Full Blood population resides in Wakpamni District; and the remaining Full Bloods live mainly in White Clay, Porcupine, Medicine Root, and Wounded Knee districts, all of which are predominately Full Blood and have the smallest proportion of Non-Indians. Almost half of the Mixed Bloods live in

Wakpamni District, the only district where Mixed Bloods are in the majority (see Map 4).

The Non-Indian population of approximately 3,500 is concentrated mainly in LaCreek District which is predominately White. Other districts with high percentages of Whites are Wakpamni and Eagle Nest.

Language Patterns

Only 17% of the Indian adults (sample population) have no knowledge of the Lakota language and 68% are bilingual, speaking both English and Lakota. Only .3% of the Indians have no knowledge of English although 6% have an imperfect knowledge of English. The individual language pattern, however, varies considerably between Mixed Bloods and Full Bloods. 35% of the Mixed Bloods compared to 1% of the Full Bloods neither speak nor understand Lakota and 48% of the Mixed Bloods are bilingual in contrast to 86% of the Full Bloods.

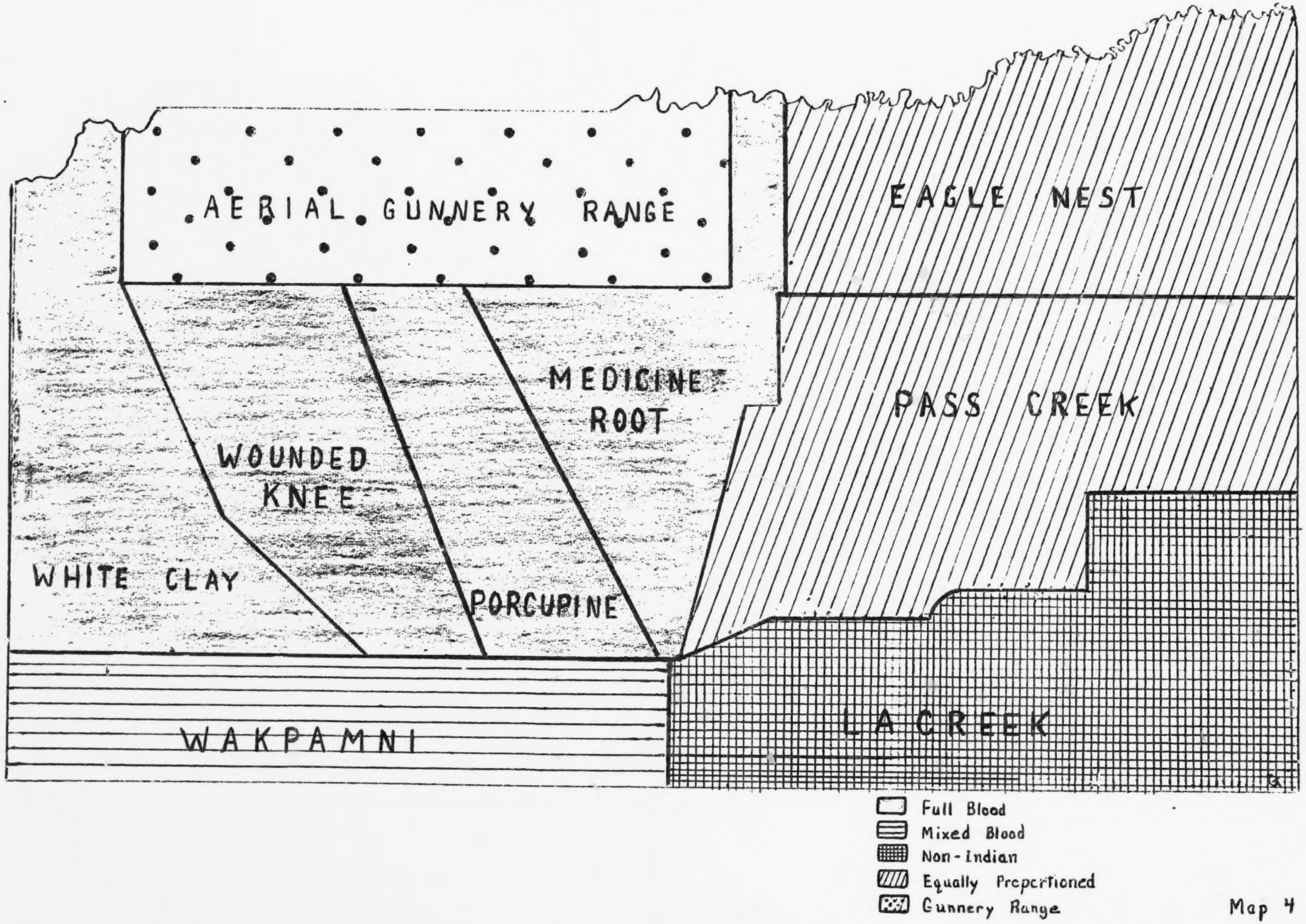
Among the Full Bloods, the Lakota language is declining in use only slightly. In the 65 and older age group, there are no Full Bloods who speak only English, all are either bilingual or speak mostly Lakota or only Lakota. In the 15-24 age group, 3% speak only English and 8% have an imperfect knowledge of Lakota. Every Full Blood in this younger age group speaks English.

The picture among the Mixed Bloods is quite different. The Lakota language is rapidly decreasing in use. In the older age group (65 years and older), 14% speak only English and this increases to 60% in the 15-24 age group. In this younger age group, only 29% are bilingual and 11% understand and speak a little Lakota.

As regards household language patterns among Indians, in 32% of the households English only is spoken, in 9% mostly English, in 44% both Lakota and English about equally, in 10% mostly Lakota and in 5% Lakota only.

As in the case of individual language patterns, household language differs significantly between Full Blood and Mixed Blood households. In the majority of Full Blood households (62%), English and Lakota equally are spoken; while in the majority of Mixed Blood households (61%), English only is spoken.

PINE RIDGE RESERVATION
DISTRICT POPULATION
PREDOMINATE GROUP


AERIAL GUNNERY RANGE
EAGLE NEST
PASS CREEK
MEDICINE ROOT
WOUNDED KNEE
WHITE CLAY
PORCUPINE
WAKPAMNI
LACREEK
Full Blood
Mixed Blood
Non-Indian
Equally Proportioned
Gunnery Range

Map 4

Distribution of the Population

The approximately 13,500 residents of the Pine Ridge Reservation live in three types of house location patterns; small villages, rural clusters and alone in the country. The trend among Indians has been towards greater village dwelling due to the construction of tribal housing units in the villages, greater centralization of the school system; and, of course, the fact that employment opportunities and commercial and recreational facilities are more available in the villages. At the present time, one half of the Indians live in villages, 15% in rural clusters and 35% in isolated dwellings. The Mixed Blood Indian is more likely than is the Full Blood to be living in a village and the Full Blood Indian is more likely to be living in rural cluster housing than is the Mixed Blood. A rural cluster consisting of two to perhaps five houses is often a grouping of related households and is thus an extended family housing unit. The majority of the Non-Indians (55%) do not live in villages, living mostly in houses located alone in the country.

The population density is about 3.1 persons to one square mile, but the distribution is uneven. Wakpamni District contains over one third (36%) of the Indian population and 32% of the total population. Pine Ridge village, the largest Reservation community and located in Wakpamni District, accounts for one fifth of the Reservation population. LaCreek, a predominately White district, is the second most populous district, with 18% of the total population. Most of the remaining population is fairly evenly scattered among Eagle Nest, Medicine Root, Porcupine, White Clay and Wounded Knee districts. Pass Creek, the least populated district, accounts for only 5.1% of the population.[3]

There are 89 communities on the Reservation which range in population from 5 to 2,764 inhabitants and 27 communities have a population of over 100. The origin of some of the communities can be traced to the settlement along creeks of the tiyoshpaye or family hunting groups. The former bands settled in different areas, i.e., the followers of Bull Bear and Little Wound (Kiyuksa Band) settled along Medicine Root Creek in what is now the Kyle area. Some communities have grown up around trading posts or places where government rations were distributed.

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3. For more detailed information on district and community populations, see Pine Ridge Research Bulletin, No. 6 and Population Register of Pine Ridge Reservation Communities.

Relations Between Indians and Whites

The Indian attitude towards the White man (washichu)[4] is generally one of suspicion. The Indians regard the Whites as interlopers whose presence often signifies some kind of unwarranted interference or demand. There is a feeling of being coerced in an attempt to transform him into a model middle class citizen, thus depriving him of his Indianness. It all sounds like a battle of wills which has been going on since the initial contact period. Putting it in terms of culture change theory, one has a situation in which the process of acculturation has been retarded by the sometimes misguided intervention of the agents of change who have been met with passive resistance on the part of the receiving group. In other words, the Indians have viewed the donor group with jaundiced eyes, regarding their efforts as forced change and as everyone knows, forced change rarely works.

Since, however, the Indian is still dependent on the government economically and, in fact, feels that it is the obligation of the government to render him services he must tolerate the presence of Whites. The Indians have partially resigned themselves to being in a dependent position and yet resent this position. One can appreciate the Indian viewpoint in light of the history of relations with the government. Having lost their economic base after confinement to a reservation, the Indians were forced to depend on government handouts. What's more, promises of rations were utilized to bribe the Indians to sign treaties, to cease their warfare against other Indian tribes and to stop harassing Whites crossing the plains on the Bozeman Trail. Furthermore, threats of withholding rations were used to keep the Indians in tow. The fact is that the Whites instituted and have continued to foster the dependency relationship and yet now wonder why Indians do not take more initiative in running their own affairs.

In order to survive in the system and retain their Indian identity, the Indians have had to learn the subtle art of manipulation. This leads to the putting on of two faces, one for his own people and one for the Whites. In his relation with Whites, especially government officials, the Indian is generally polite and reserved, but rarely completely candid. In consequence, the White person who seeks to understand the Indian and his felt needs is frustrated because he feels the Indian is not expressing his real opinions. The Indian believes that the White person is not really sincere in his interest in him as an individual and that his opinions have little weight. Because of failure of communications, the White person often deludes himself into thinking he is involving the Indian not only in policy making but in decisions involving the fate of the Indian seeking help.

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[4] There are a number of interpretations of the meaning of washichu "one who takes orders," "one who brings the bacon," "one who takes the fat" and one who talks fast." The word washichun at one time referred to a group of unpredictable spirits and this is the most likely derivation of the term. Washichu is pronounced wa-'shee-chew.

The White person also feels some suspicion in his relations with Indians. Occasionally the Non-Indian believes he has formed a close relationship with an Indian only to be disillusioned when the Indian only seeks him out when he wants something. The Non-Indian then feels exploited and so also may be reserved in his relations with an Indian. Cross-exploitation between "have" and "have-not" groups is to be expected but difficult to accept in reality.

The White ranching population on the Reservation generally regards the Indians as parasites. While the rancher or farmer is working hard to make a living, he sees some able-bodied, unemployed Indian collecting welfare assistance. He then becomes resentful of the free services and other benefits accorded to Indians. His reply to any question concerning future government policy in regard to Indians is, "Make the Indians work for a living." The White person with this attitude has seldom stopped to consider that the present dependency of the Indian is a natural consequence of historical circumstances.

One has the feeling from talking to some of the old-time settlers in the region that Indian-White relations were formerly less constrained. There was more mixing socially in bars and at school and church functions. Also, agricultural employment was greater and Indians and Whites worked together in equal status jobs. Some of the elderly ranchers speak nostalgically of the old honorable Full Bloods and their integrity and pride of race which they feel the government has managed to obliterate through their give-away programs.

Less critical of Indians are the government employees who usually are in service, consultative on supervisory positions in relation to the Oglalas. One might be cynical and say that since their sustenance depends on Indians they would be inclined to keep their prejudices to themselves. This, however, is not completely fair because a number of government employees entered and remain with the BIA or PHS because of a genuine interest in helping and working with Indians. Unfortunately there is a high rate of turnover among government employees and many remain for short periods of time. In consequence, any meaningful relationship between the White government employee and the Indian is often in the formative stage when the government employee leaves or is transferred.

Whites living in the borderline areas of the Reservation are inclined to be the most prejudiced, feeling that Indians are lazy and drunken, the most extreme attitude being that Indians are not worth helping. The more flagrant, outward manifestations of prejudice are generally not in evidence because Indian business is important to the economy of the border towns and Indians pose no economic threat to the Whites. There are, however, accusations of various forms of exploitation of Indians, i.e., merchants overcharging Indians in contract buying of used cars, judges fining Indians exorbitantly especially at land lease payment time when they know Indians have money, brutal treatment in jails, etc.

All the above sounds pretty depressing but let us emphasize the fact that close relationships based on mutual trust and liking have developed between individual Indians and Whites. The Indian does not give his friendship lightly (the White must prove himself worthy) but when confidence is once gained, the friendship of an Indian is a highly rewarding one.

Sex and Age Groups

In the sex and age distribution of the Indian population, we find some interesting deviations from the general U.S. population. First let us look at the sex ratios.[5] In the general U.S. population, both in the White and Nonwhite populations there is a predominance of females, SR=96.3 among Whites and 93.8 among Nonwhites (1966). In the Indian population of Pine Ridge, the males outnumber the females slightly with an SR of 100.3. A greater proportion of males is evident only among the Mixed Bloods (SR=103.3). In the Full Blood population there are more females (SR=96.8).

Especially interesting is the predominance of males in the 65 and over age group (SR=116.7). This contrasts sharply to the White and Nonwhite U.S. population in which females far outnumber males in this age group (White SR=76.0, Nonwhite SR=83.2). Among the Full Bloods in this age category the sex

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5. Sex ratio is the number of males per 100 females. A ratio of over 100 indicates that there are more males, a ratio of under 100 more females.

ratio is 143.2 One might speculate that this is due to a formerly higher mortality rate among Indian women, especially among Full Blood women, or higher out-migration of women.

Up to 10 years of age, males exceed females. Then from age 10 through 34 years, the females outnumber the males. In age groups of Indians 35 years and older (except 50-54 and 60-64 years), males predominate.

In the Non-Indian population of the Reservation, one finds an even higher sex ratio than among Indians: SR=101.7. This, however is less than the South Dakota ratio of 102.4 for the general population (1960). The sex ratio varies in the younger age groups, but as in the case of the Indian population, from age 35 through the older age groups, males exceed females.

The age distribution of the Indian population differs radically from the general U.S. population, both Nonwhite and White. The youthfulness of the Indian population dominates the age picture on the Reservation. The median[6] age of the Indian population is 16.7 years. This contrasts with 27.9 for the Non-Indian population of the Reservation and with 21.3 for the U.S. Nonwhite population and 28.8 for the U.S. White population.

To emphasize more strongly the youthfulness of the Indian population, let us look at the percentage under 25 years of age. Among Indians, 64.1% are under 25 years in contrast to 55.3% among U.S. Nonwhites and 45.3% among U.S. Whites. Among the Indian population, over half (53%) are under 18 years.

The exceptionally high proportion of young people in the Indian population means that the 29.2% in the most productive age group (20-49 years) is carrying a heavy burden of responsibility. This small group and government welfare assistance must support and care for a large unproductive population. Also, the fact that over half of the population is under 18 years means that long term planning must provide for increased educational and job training facilities, greater employment opportunities, larger caretaking agencies, etc., or the socio-economic problems in the future will be even greater than they are today.

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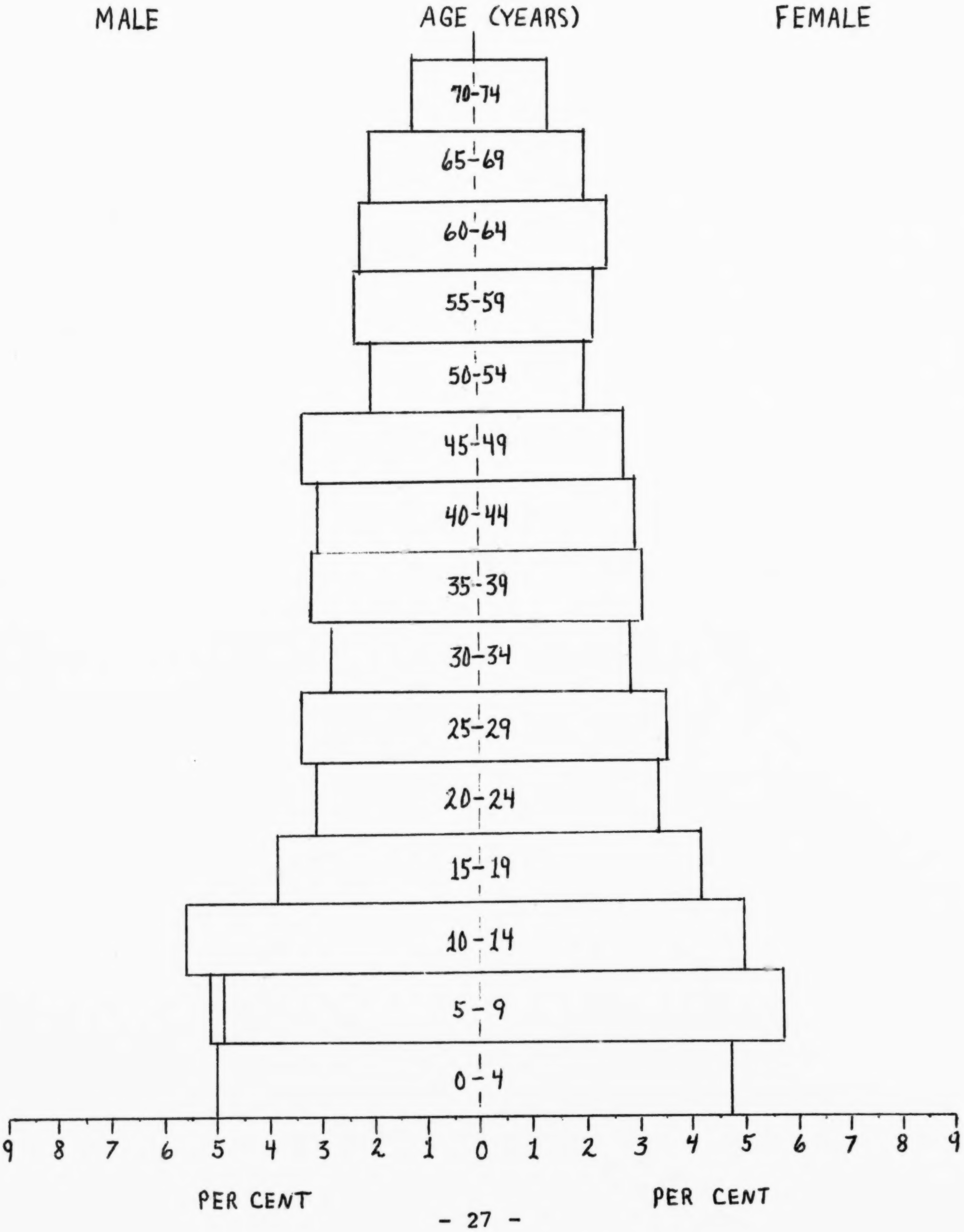
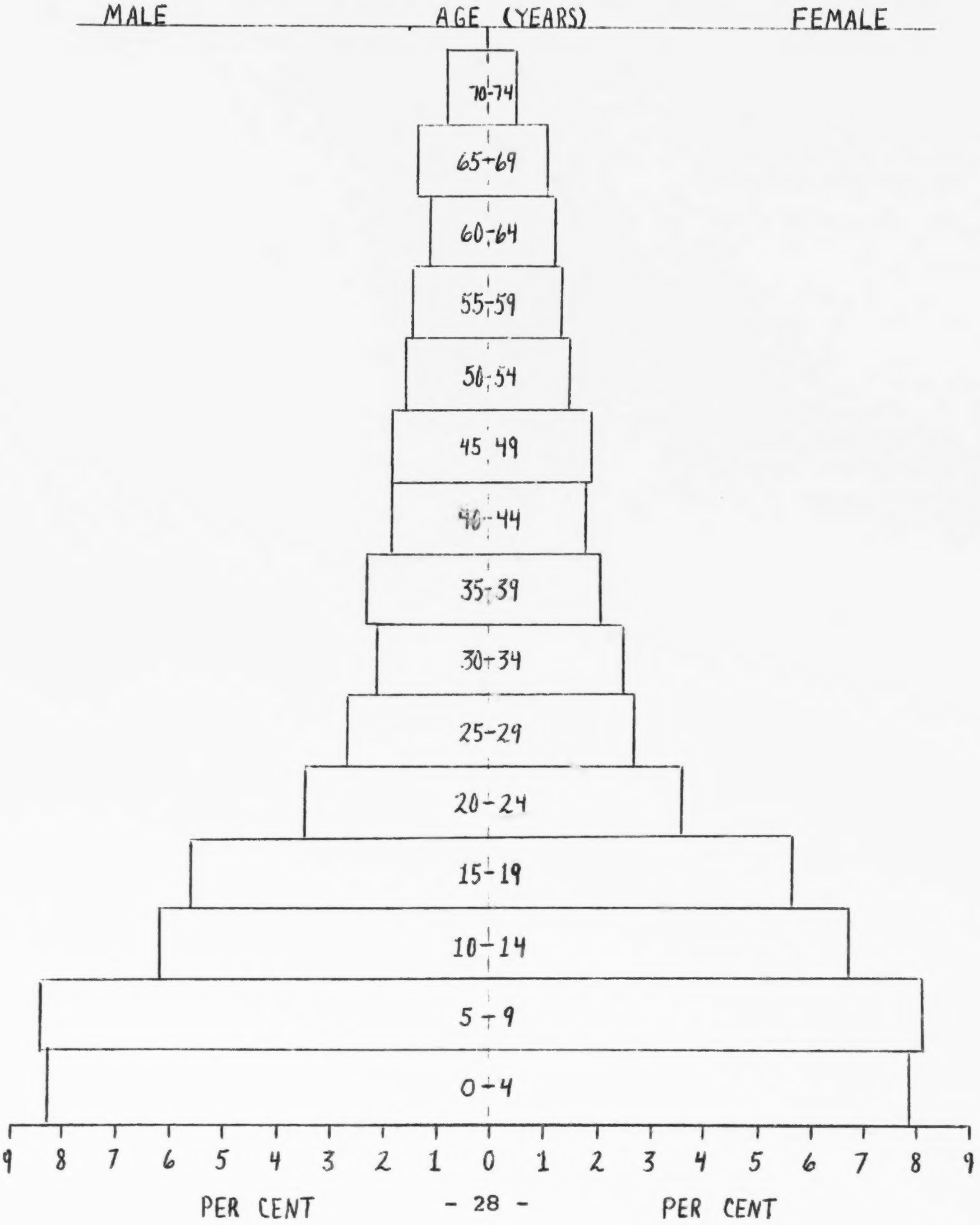
[6] Half of the population is above and below this age.

To further clarify the sex-age distribution, we present the following population pyramids. You will notice that the Indian population pyramid is almost a true pyramid which is often indicative of an economically underdeveloped population with high birth and mortality rates. The pyramid of the Non-Indian population is much different, it shows a higher percentage of persons in the productive age groups and in the older age groups.

NON-INDIAN POPULATION —— PINE RIDGE RESERVATION - 1968



INDIAN POPULATION —— PINE RIDGE RESERVATION ·1968



Experience off the Reservation

Semi-nomadism is characteristic of a large segment of the Oglalas, being especially prevalent among the sporadically employed. The fact that this is a population in constant flux soon becomes apparent to anyone foolhardy enough to attempt a census. There are continual movements of families and individuals on and off the Reservation, between communities within the Reservation itself and among households within the same community. The structures of households change rapidly, making it virtually impossible to maintain an accurate population register and causing difficulties in locating a given individual.

Much of the nomadism is due to lack of steady employment sources, housing shortages or simply to a desire for a change of scenery. In spite of this pattern, the Oglalas cannot be said to be rootless like many in the geographically mobile American society. Their roots are on the Reservation where they feel secure because of the proximity to kin and their own kind and because of the easy accessibility to government services. Many of those who leave remain away only a short time and then return to the more familiar and thus more comfortable atmosphere of the Reservation.

Nearly all of the Oglalas have had some experience off the Reservation even if for only a few months while visiting relatives or working as migratory farm laborers. More extended periods of migration are also common. Almost half (47% of sample population) have lived one continuous year or more off the Reservation, 60% of the Mixed Bloods and 34% of the Full Bloods. The breakdown by ethnic group and sex is as follows: Mixed Blood males (66%), Mixed Blood females (57%), Full Blood males (44%) and Full Blood females (28%). Not only are Mixed Bloods more likely to have lived off the Reservation but their length of stay is slightly longer than among Full Bloods.

The major motivations for migration among those who have lived for extended periods off the Reservation are: to work on their own, as opposed to government relocation (29%), to attend school (27%), to serve in the armed forces (15%), to accompany one's family when they moved off the Reservation (10%) and to relocate under BIA sponsorship (5%).

Most of the former migrants lived within a 200 mile radius of the Reservation, in Nebraska and South Dakota. The other main areas of migration are the western, midwestern, (other than South Dakota and Nebraska) and southwestern states. In regard to specific localities, the highest proportion settled temporarily in Rapid City, South Dakota (20%). Other communities of migration were the Reservation border towns of Gordon and Chadron, Nebraska and Kadoka and Hot Springs, South Dakota. Fairly high percentages of Oglalas lived in the following places - more distant from the Reservation: Alliance and Scottsbluff, Nebraska; Chicago, Los Angeles, the San Francisco Bay area and Denver.

As regards the size of the localities of migration, the highest percentage (40%) have lived in small communities of less than 10,000 population located near the Reservation. Also a high proportion have lived in communities of 10,000 - 99,999 population, either in Rapid City (20%) or located outside of the 200 mile radius (16%). 22% of the ex-migrants have resided in cities of 100,000 or more population and 8% have had experience overseas mostly while in military service or as performers in wild west shows.

Why did these former migrants return to the Reservation? According to the respondents, the main reasons for returning were to work (19%), because "home is the Reservation" (16%) or due to the end of work or school off the Reservation (15%). Other reasons were separation from the Armed services (8%) and needed by a family member (5%).

An area of migration which has not been systematically explored is the extent of permanent migration, that is how many who leave the Reservation do not return? We do have some figures on the rate of return among BIA relocatees. In the beginning of the Relocation Program there was a high rate of return. Since, however, more changes have been inaugurated in the Program as regards selection, preparation and continued help to relocatees, the proportion of returnees has been reduced. Among the 1964 relocatees, 45% had returned to the Reservation as of July 1968.

Besides the Oglalas who had had extensive experience off the Reservation, the population of Pine Ridge includes Indians from other tribes. Approximately 5% of the Indian population is comprised of Indians who are not enrollees of the Oglala Sioux tribe, but are immigrants or have enrolled in the tribe of a Non-Oglala parent. Of those from other tribes (sample population), 40% are Rosebud Sioux. The next most representative alien groups are from the following reservations: Cheyenne River (12%), Standing Rock (8%), Ft. Berthold (4%), Sisseton (4%) and Lower Brule (2%). All of these reservations are in South or North Dakota and with the exception of Ft. Berthold[7], all are inhabited mainly by other Sioux tribes.

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[7] Fort Berthold's population is comprised mainly of Gros Ventre, Assiniboine and some Chippewa.

Most of the Indian immigrants came to the Reservation to work or because of marriage or because of their families moving to Pine Ridge.

The Non-Indian population of the Reservation is comprised mainly of immigrants (69%) and another 14% have lived at least a year off the Reservation. Among Non-Indian immigrants, the majority came from Nebraska (34%) or South Dakota (30%).

Nearly all areas of the nation are represented in the following proportions: the Midwest, except South Dakota or Nebraska (16%), the northeast (4%), the Southwest (4%), Rocky Mountain states (3%), the Southeast (3%), the West Coast (2.5%) and foreign countries (2%).

The greater part of the Non-Indian immigrants came to the Reservation to work (57%), either for the government or as ranchers or farmers, 12% came when their families moved here and 9% through marriage.

Indian Personality Traits and Values

In introducing the Oglalas, we feel that it would be fitting to say something even if briefly about the personality traits and values shared by a large percentage of the people.[8]

The Oglalas developed a value system which not only assured their physical survival but also enabled them to live harmoniously among themselves and with the natural world around them. This system was geared to their nomadic life on the plains in which hunting and warfare were the pivotal activities. Many of the values which were functional in their traditional society have been weakened in the acculturation process, but it is amazing how many have survived in spite of the incursion of White values.

Above all, the Indian values individual freedom. Indian people have a deep respect for each other as individuals. Even little children have this respect from their elders. Parents and other relatives give good advice and instruct the children on what is right and wrong, but in the end the decision on what to do in a given situation is left to the child. Mistakes are made but the main thing is that the privilege of deciding lies in the individual. This respect for the individual is one reason why the impersonality of the bureaucracy so often seems demeaning to the Indian.

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[8] For more detailed information on values, see John F. Bryde, Modern Indians, 1969, pp. 24-83.

To some observers, however, it seems as though some Indian youth behave as if they have few controls or guidelines from the Indian society. We believe this can be explained by the fact that the young Indian is caught between two value systems: the one taught to him in school or absorbed from the mass media and the one from traditional society. This causes confusion and may result in the internalization of few strong values. The Indian child may still be taught the Indian code of behavior but he may disparage the advice of his elders or no longer pay heed to them. The elders, however, still allow him individual freedom, a freedom for which he may now be ill-prepared. Also involved is the lack of social controls to enforce the value system within the Indian society.

Although individual freedom is allowed, it is sometimes allowed only if the action of the individual does not separate the Oglala from his family or threaten his Indian identity. Family ties and loyalties are strong and if a person wants to leave the immediate area to work or go to school, he may find himself in conflict with family members who interpret this as not caring for his family and he is made to feel guilty. If the person does leave, he may be pressured to return to the Reservation when a family crisis arises.

In spite of the value placed on individual freedom, the Indian is a conformist in that he has a deep desire to get along with other people and nature around him. An Indian will not show off or do anything to make himself stand out in a group unless his actions will be good for the group as a whole. This is one reason why group meetings among Indians often fail. Only a few will have the temerity to express their opinions and no one will usually disagree because this would be rude and might lead to interpersonal conflict. It is in the informal social atmosphere outside of the meeting that the subject is discussed and decisions made.

The conformity of the Indian also mitigates against making oneself conspicuous through acting differently or wearing unconventional garb. The high school students are very fashion conscious. The girls wear miniskirts and some boys dress in semi-hippie fashion with high boots, medallions, etc., but neatness prevails. Visiting hippies who seek affinity with their "red brothers" are disillusioned when they receive the cold treatment from Indians who regard them as freaks. Being different is not only discouraged by traditions, but also often by the peer group and the school system. One must add, however, that given time, the person whose personal appearance deviates from the Oglala norm may be accepted if he is liked as an individual.

Generosity and sharing are and always have been decisive in the Oglalas' struggle for survival. A good Indian always shares whatever he has with his friends and relatives. In the old days when the man brought back meat from the hunt, they did not keep it for their individual families. Old people, children and women who had no one to hunt for them were taken care of first. If the hunting was poor everyone had short rations until a better day came along. Indians accumulated goods not for the sake of possession, but to give to someone else in time of need or as an expression of thanks for the return of a loved one or recovery from an illness. Status was conferred for generosity and the man who did not share was severely criticized.

Even today many families have give-aways; sometimes saving for a year and working many hours on quilts, beadwork and other articles to be given away in a celebration for the return of a son from Vietnam or in a ceremony to honor a dead relative.

The term "Indian giver" is misused by many people who do not understand an Indian's idea of sharing. If you see something you like in a friend's house and express a desire for this thing, he gives it to you with the realization on both sides that if you have something he wants, he may have it for the asking. This is Indian generosity and sharing.

Bravery is another important value of the Oglalas. In the world today the Oglalas cannot go out and kill buffalo, count coup[9] or steal a horse to show how brave they are; but are taught bravery in other ways which are uniquely Indian. One of the ways is the ability to do something difficult or face an unfamiliar and fearful task or situation with a straight face. A Non-Indian can do hard things but not always hide his true feelings.

Many people have spoken of the stoicism of the Indian. Impassiveness is taught to the Oglala as a child. The Oglalas can face great disappointments without showing their feelings or accept defeat as something that cannot be changed. The important thing is not to have suffered any personal humiliation by falling apart in a crisis.

The self-control of the Oglalas learned at an early age helps to maintain harmonious relations in the family and community, but the present day culture has provided few acceptable means that are not disruptive for the release of aggression, anxieties, etc. Intoxication is one of the few ways in which an Indian can secure relief of pent-up feelings. Aggressive behavior is uncommon among sober Oglalas, but destructive acts may result when in a state of inebriation. As Kuttner and Lorincz point out in their article on alcoholism among the urban Sioux, "White men are aggressive both while drunk and sober, and assault not only their wives and other relatives, but also total strangers..... If aggression is revealed by the Indian only when intoxicated, then his self-control over his emotions is superior to that of the White man when he is sober."[10]

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[9] Counting coup means the number of times one has touched or struck an enemy which was as prestigeful as killing an enemy in battle.

Formerly the Oglalas possessed a number of institutions which allowed for emotional release: hunting and warfare, sacrifices attending the Sun Dance and other ceremonies and self-mutilations accompanying the death of a loved one. They were even given an opportunity to boast of their deeds at prescribed times. These avenues of release are no longer available and this may account for many of the acts of social deviancy and cases of mental illness among the Indians today. It may be that the impassiveness of the Oglalas that prevents the expression of strong emotions (along with the survival of customs restricting verbal communications among family members) have now become partially dysfunctional.

Formerly aggression directed towards a relative or even a tribal member was severely punished through ostracism, revenge against the family of the aggressor or the payment of a large fine of goods and horses to the victim's family. Today because of the loss of societal controls, aggressive acts when intoxicated may be directed towards relatives and fellow Indians. The punishing agent is now generally the Law and the person who committed the aggression is no longer subject to as severe social sanctions as in traditional culture. The same holds true for acts of stealing from another Oglala. This was rare in traditional society but now does occur among a small segment of the Indians.

Also lost to some extent has been the high value placed on chastity among women. In traditional society, young girls were closely chaperoned and the highest honor and respect were accorded the virtuous woman. Many Non-Indians who condemn sexual transgressions among a few of the women today, do not realize that this is not a part of Indianness, but is a result of the loss of social controls and part of a growing moral laxity that is by no means confined to Indians.

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[10] Robert E. Kuttner and Albert B. Lorincz, "Alcoholism and Addiction in Urbanized Sioux Indians" in Mental Hygiene, Oct. 1967, p. 539.

A great deal has been said about the present time orientation of the Indian. There is an inclination for the Indians to be content just being among friends, living for today and not worrying about tomorrow. Goals are often short-term in nature and gratification of immediate needs is more important than waiting for a future enjoyment that may never occur. This leads to criticisms by Non-Indians about the way Indians spend money, suddenly quit a job or have not learned the value of saving and frugality. The Indian when living a nomadic existence had to live day by day and he still has to live day by day due to poverty and the erratic policies of the government.

A very noticeable trait among the Oglalas is their love of infants and small children. The young child is the center of attention and fondled, admired and passed from person to person. The infant or toddler is one of the few persons for whom the Indian can show affection openly. On the other end of the age spectrum, the old person is accorded much more respect than among most other ethnic groups in the United States. Although there are cases of neglect of old people, the value placed on age is still a strong one and many old people live with their families, not considered as a burden but as the most respected member of the family. The attitude towards age is manifested also in the leadership patterns. Young people are not considered experienced enough to assume responsibilities in the tribe and in consequence, most members of the Tribal Council are middle-aged or older.

The humor of the Oglalas is one of their outstanding characteristics and has also been a vital factor in their survival. They have a highly developed sense of humor which can be directed not only to external situations but to Indian behavior as well. The Indian jokes about Indians show an admirable ability to laugh at themselves.

Allied to the Oglala sense of humor is the love of teasing and kidding. One never knows whether an Indian is spinning a tall tale or giving you the low-down because kidding is done with a serious, straight face. Incidentally the fanciful stories told in kidding situations show originality and imagination.

The Indian child is exposed to this humor from the time he is born and is able to forget how poor and unhappy he is by finding something to laugh at in any situation. The Indian humor is unique in the way it is used as a disciplinary measure. When a child does something wrong he is subject to teasing by his elders and other children in the hopes that this will shame him into doing the right thing.

Another attribute of the Oglalas is their sense of loyalty to the United States. Their patriotism seems rather ironic considering the early treatment by the government, but it is nevertheless the case. There is a belief and trust, not in the government officials at Pine Ridge, but in the Federal Government, that the President and other high officials will protect and care for the Indian. This protection and care may at times be capricious and sometimes Indian trust betrayed, but nevertheless this is the one stable source of security known to the Oglalas since the beginning of reservation life. The Oglala thus clings to his ties with the Federal Government and is fearful of any suggestion which might lead to breaking this tie, leaving him at the mercy of an entity like the state or county.

Patriotism is manifested in a number of ways. The proportion of men who have served in the U.S. Armed Forces is exceptionally high. Honor is bestowed upon the memory of the Oglala who dies for his country and the returning soldier is feted in a powwow in his honor. This is, of course, a survival of the high status given to the warrior, but is now also part of patriotism to the nation. The most prestigeful and active organizations on the Reservation are the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars. On patriotic holdiays, there are community celebrations and many houses, especially Full Blood homes in the districts, display an American flag, even if it is only a miniature one.

It is this feeling of loyalty towards the government that often causes opposition among Indians to protest demonstrations and to any kind of Red Power movement which may be viewed as treasonable.

In conclusion let us quote the words of an Indian about Indian values:

> "In all other ways an Indian is much like anyone else. The degree to which his personality develops depends on his environment. Cheerfulness and friendliness mark high in his personality but always in a quiet way. We are uneasy and distrustful in the presence of Whites because of unsatisfactory relationships with them and because some of our earliest memories are of being shushed 'or a White man will get you!'"

"The values of our people are what make us different and it is hard to learn the ways of the White man because his values contradict ours in so many ways. The application of our values often make it difficult to adjust to modern living. The White man's way to get ahead means cutting yourself off from your family, living for one's self and forgetting the group. He uses nature for personal benefit and although he professes to be a Christian, his religion is confined to Sundays. Prayer was an everyday thing for the Indians and the most common phrase in any prayer was 'that my people may live.'"

"A young Indian today has his culture and values built in, learned not through formal teaching but by the actions of his parents and grandparents. When he goes to school, he proceeds to learn how to live a full life and be successful the White man's way. Many times this creates a conflict within him. He wants to be somebody and yet have approval from his own people. The rat race of the outside world with its noise, everybody pushing to get ahead of the other, sharply contrasts to the peaceful getting along with other people's way of life he has grown up in. He sometimes looks down on himself because he doesn't have all the material comforts considered important by the dominant culture. To get these things he feels he has to step over his own people which involves putting himself ahead of the group and at the same time he wants to get ahead, learn a skill and take care of his family."

"What we must do is pick out what is best from our culture. We must regain our pride in ourselves and our fellow man and work together to move up as a group. Our individual freedom and bravery can be applied to today's challenges and we can keep our generosity and sharing on a common sense level - take care of our families first. By combining the White man's get up and go with our good values and as long as there are Indians who will live proudly by these values, the only way for us is up!"

CHAPTER III

HISTORY OF THE OGLALAS

Introduction

Some people believe that to continually emphasize the wrongs perpetrated against the Indians in the course of history is a fruitless exercise that can only kindle unproductive antagonisms. The energy thus expended is dissipated on matters best forgotten. It would be better to utilize energies to plan and execute a program which would improve present conditions and which looks to the future of the Indian people. There is considerable merit in this attitude. We feel, however, that one cannot understand present conditions among the Oglalas unless one is aware of the historical circumstances which caused these conditions. Many of the attitudes, personality traits, socio-economic conditions, etc., can only be explained in the light of what happened to the Oglalas before and after White encroachment on their territory.

We realize that the history of the Oglala Sioux is a book in itself and has been treated in considerable detail by several competent historians. It is, therefore, our intention to merely present a very perfunctory summary. Anyone interested in pursuing Oglala history further, can read the books listed at the end of the chapter.

Across the Missouri[1]

The Oglalas are a sub-division of the Teton Dakota or Western Sioux who in turn are a division of the Dakota or Sioux. Other Sioux tribes are the Nakota (Yankton, Yanktonai) and the Eastern Sioux or Santee. The seven tribes or sub-tribes of the Teton Dakota are the Oglalas, Brulés, Hunkpapas, Sans Arcs, Miniconjous, Two Kettles, and Blackfoot Sioux.[2]

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[1] Most of the information in the first two sections is taken from George E. Hyde, Red Cloud's Folk, A History of the Oglala Sioux.

[2] The Teton Dakota are now located on the following reservations: Rosebud - Brules; Lower Brulé - Brulеs; Standing Rock - Hunkpapas, Blackfoot Sioux; Cheyenne River - Sans Arcs, Blackfoot Sioux, Miniconjous, Two Kettles; and Pine Ridge - Oglalas. (See chart on next page.)

DIVISIONS OF THE SIOUX (DAKOTA) WITH THEIR PRESENT LOCATION*

	WESTERN SIOUX (Teton Dakota)	CENTRAL SIOUX (Nakota)	EASTERN SIOUX (Santee)
	Oglala (Pine Ridge)	Yankton (Yankton)	Mdewakanton - (in Minn.) (Flandreau) (Santee, Nebr.)
	Brulé (Rosebud) (Lower Brule)	Upper Yanktonai (Standing Rock, Devil's Lake, N.D.)	Wahpeton (Devil's Lake) (Flandreau) (Sisseton)
	Hunkpapa (Standing Rock)	Lower Yanktonai (Crow Creek, Ft. Peck, Montana)	
	Blackfoot Sioux (Standing Rock) (Cheyenne River)	(Assiniboine) (Ft. Peck, Ft. Belknap, Montana)	Wahpekute (Santee) (Ft. Peck)
	Sans Arcs (Cheyenne River)		Sisseton (Sisseton) (Devil's Lake)
	Miniconjou (Cheyenne River)		
	Two Kettles (Cheyenne River)		
Dialect	Lakota	Nakota	Dakota

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*For more detailed information, see S. Feraca and J. Howard, "The Identity and Demography of the Dakota or Sioux Tribe" in Plains Anthropologist, May 1963.

It is believed that the Western Sioux came originally from the southeast and had migrated westward, being found in the Minnesota area in the sixteenth century and in the region of the Upper Missouri in the eighteenth century. After forcing out the Arikaras, the Tetons crossed the Missouri to begin their advance to the Black Hills and Wyoming in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Once west of the Missouri, the Oglalas thrived, being well supplied with horses and finding the buffalo plentiful. Now their enemies were mainly the Crows and in their wars against the Crows, the Cheyennes became their allies.

During this period, Hyde describes the "regular beat" of the Oglalas.

> ".....soon after 1805 they began to spend their winters in the eastern edge of the Black Hills, usually near Bear Butte. In the spring they would go down Bad River, hunting as they went along.... At times the annual Sun Dance was held on the Missouri, at other times out near the Black Hills; the summer's activities were then concluded by getting up a great war party to go against the Crows or some other tribe. As cold weather set in the Oglalas were back in their winter camps near Bear Butte, usually with camps of friendly Saones and Cheyennes for neighbors."[3]

In 1834 the Oglalas were persuaded by the traders to leave the Black Hills country to make their headquarters on the North Platte (now Wyoming) in order to be near the trading post at Fort William (later Fort Laramie). At this time there was great competition among traders for the rich furs of this region. In their new territory, the Oglalas continued to hunt buffalo and make war against the Crows, Pawnees and Snakes.

It was while on the North Platte that the murder of Bull Bear took place which split the Oglalas into two factions. The traders had encouraged the leadership of Smoke, putting him in opposition to the old chief Bull Bear. Bull Bear in a rage killed one of Smoke's horses. In 1841, during a drinking party, Bull Bear was shot down by one of Smoke's followers, some say by Red Cloud.[4] Due to this event, the Kiyuksa band of Bull Bear joined by Red Water's band, split with the Smoke people.

Up to this time the only White men the Oglalas had known were the traders and trappers who lived very much like the Indians. Now came the rivers of wagon trains, carrying White

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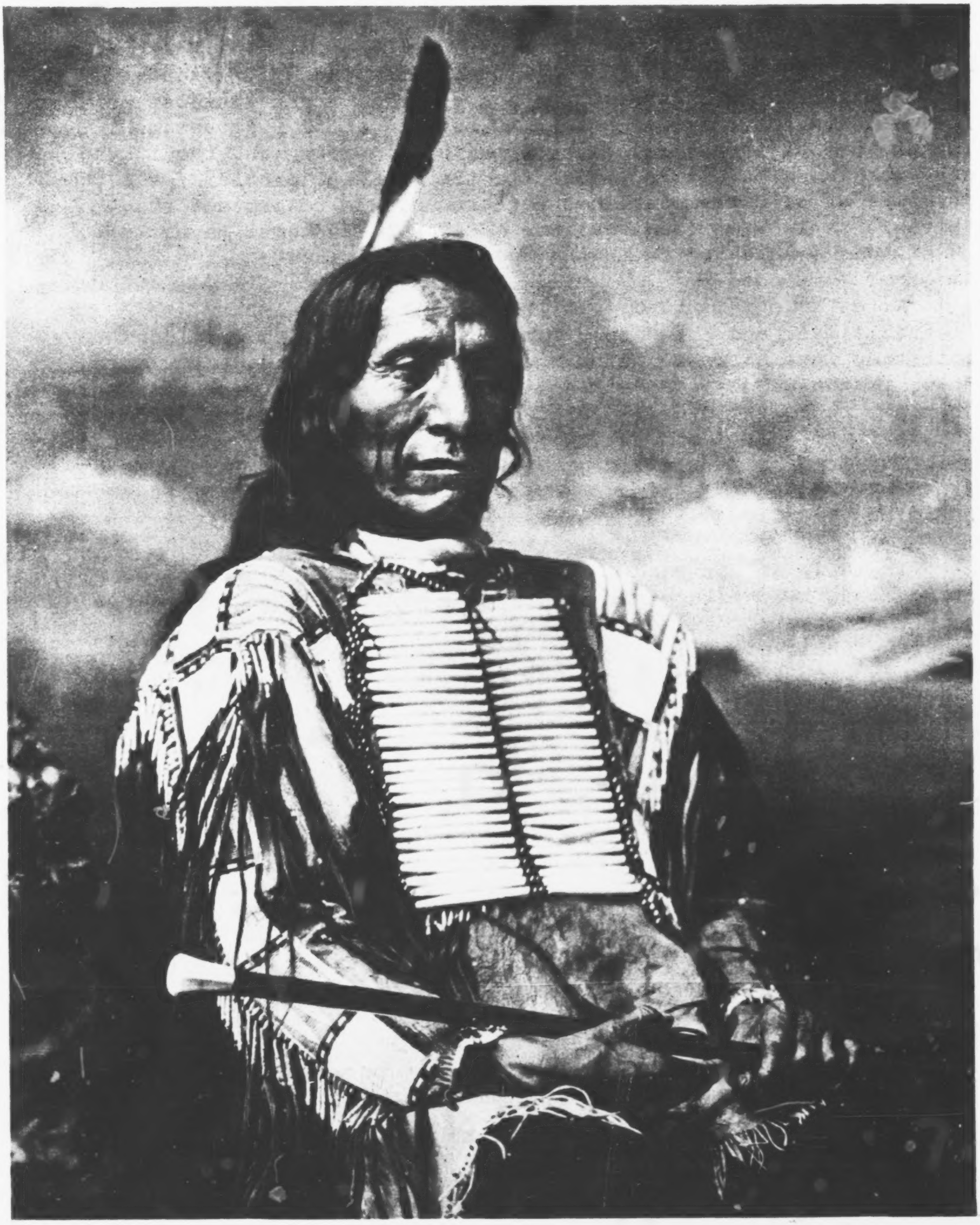
[3] Hyde, op. cit. p. 35-36.

[4] See James C. Olson, Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem, p. 20.



Red Cloud, the most illustrious of Oglala Sioux leaders
(Photo courtesy of Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives.)

settlers across the plains. So began the despoiling of the hunting grounds, hostilities between Indians and Whites, and increased deaths due to smallpox and cholera. This was also the beginning of official relations between the U.S. government in the form of Indian agents, special commissions, and the making and breaking of treaties. Added to the Oglalas' problems, was the presence of soldiers stationed at Fort Laramie to protect the Whites. In 1850 we find that Man Afraid Of His Horse, a warrior chief, was considered to be the head of the tribe.

After some unfortunate skirmishes with the military (the Grattan affair and the Harney campaign), the Oglalas concluded that they were not welcome on the North Platte. The Bear people moved to the Republican Fork area in northern Kansas and southern Nebraska under the leadership of Bad Wound. The Smoke people set out north to just southwest of the Black Hills, still under the chieftainship of Man Afraid Of His Horse. A few Oglalas and Brulés known as the Loafers remained in the vicinity of Fort Laramie. Red Cloud and his Bad Faces left for Powder River.

In 1862, an uprising among the Sioux in Minnesota caused panic among the Whites and brought more troops into Oglala territory under the command of some pretty incompetent officers to judge by their actions. The result was a number of military encounters with the Sioux which led eventually to the Battle of the Little Big Horn.

The End of Freedom

In 1871 it was decided that Red Cloud's people and some of their allies should have their own agency. Formerly the Oglalas formed part of the Upper North Platte Agency (1860-64). After a dispute between the Indian agent (J.W. Wham) and the Oglalas as to the site of the agency, the Red Cloud Agency was located on the north bank of the Platte, just below Fort Laramie. With the establishment of this agency, the Indians received more rations and annuities of clothing, utensils, etc. This generosity was designed to keep the Oglalas off the warpath. Some of the goods were being traded by the Oglalas for ammunition and whiskey. In 1873 the agency was again moved, this time to White River, near the present town of Crawford, Nebraska.

Nothing but trouble followed the removal of the Oglalas to White River. A garrison was established close by and the Sioux were becoming restless. The Whites were now interested in the Black Hills (Pa Sapa)* because of the rumors of gold deposits there.

*See Errata, p. 184

The new agent, Dr. Saville, was triumphant because his persuasive powers had induced the Oglalas to move to White River. Saville now felt that this was the propitious time to introduce agriculture. Hyde pithily describes the results.

> "The four years during which the humanitarians had promised to train the Sioux and turn them into self-supporting farmers had expired in 1873. In May of 1874, the Oglalas held a grand council and after endless wrangling decided to protect anyone who wanted to farm. Up to this time the young warriors had threatened to maim or murder any Oglalas who dared to pick up an agricultural tool. Agent Saville coaxed about twenty-five men into enlisting as farmers. They bravely volunteered to let their wives try it....... The Indian women planted their little gardens and went through the process which was to become familiar to them in later years. They cared for their little patches, watched them eagerly as the young plants grew and in midsummer saw all their hopes swept away by drought and grasshoppers."[5]

More ominous than farming was the growing invasion of Whites into Pa Sapa in search of gold. In the Treaty of 1868 which defined Sioux territory, the U.S. government had promised to use force and allow the Indians to use force to remove any White man who entered Sioux lands. That "chief of thieves" General Custer had been sent into the Hills for the express purpose of expelling the White trespassers. And yet the gold seekers were still in Pa Sapa and apparently meant to stay. The news of the betrayal spread across the Sioux camps as far as the Missouri. Then came the news that the government wanted to buy the Black Hills. The older Indians for the sake of peace might consent, but not the hot-headed young warriors who could not see losing their Hills without a fight.

A council between the chiefs and a commission representing the government was held near the Red Cloud Agency. The backdrop to this council consisted of some 7,000 Sioux warriors and a detachment of government troops. No decision could be reached. It is said that Red Cloud demanded that his people be fed for seven generations plus a payment of $600,000,000 for the Hills. The government was clearly in a bind.

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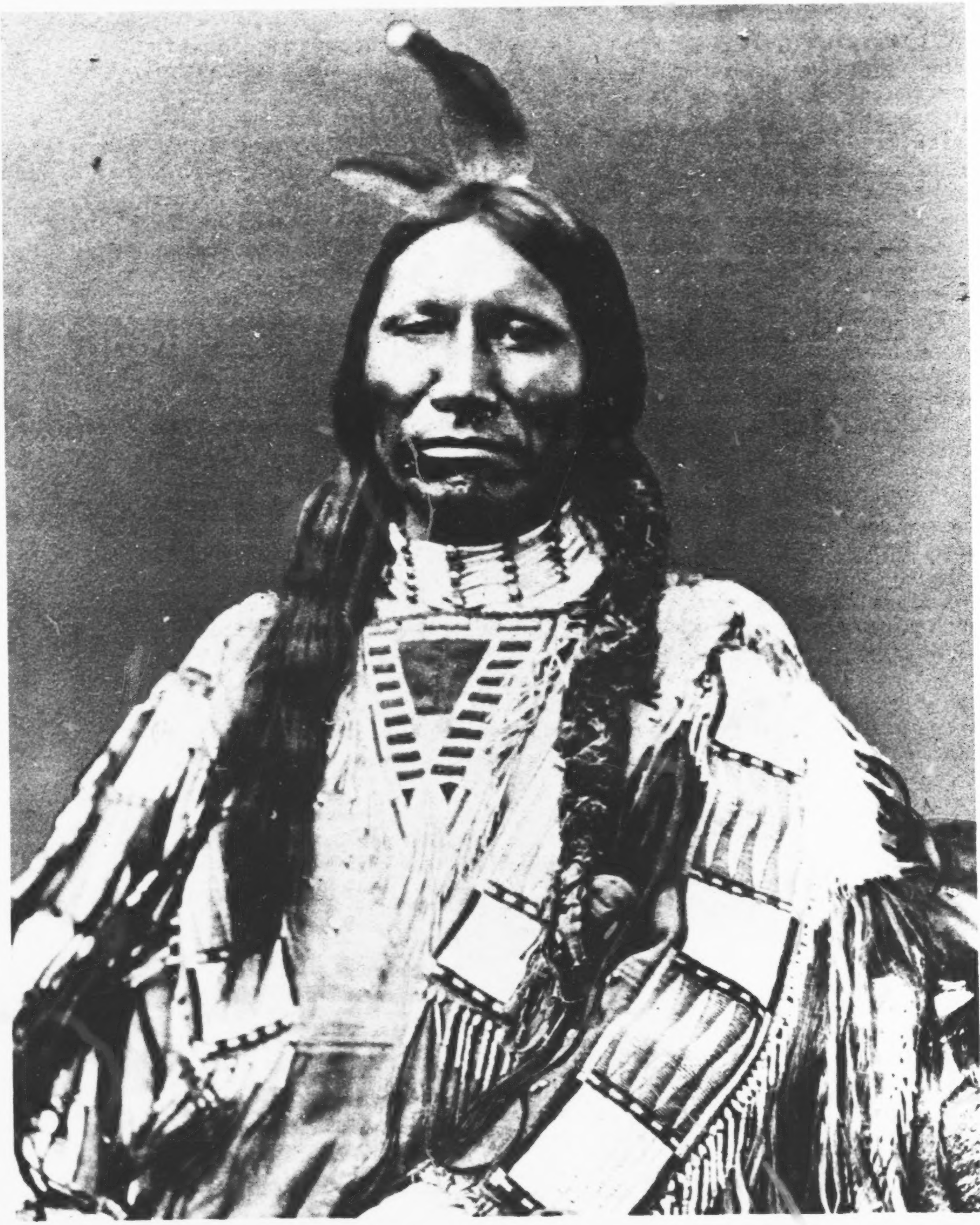
[5] Hyde, op. cit., p. 220.

The humanitarians in the east who had championed the cause of the Sioux but knew nothing about Indians were becoming disillusioned. Thirteen million dollars had been spent on the Sioux with few results. Great disappointment ensued when these nomadic people did not suddenly transform themselves into farmers, but instead sat around collecting handouts. That the Sioux had managed to keep their bellies full by hunting before the government supplied them rations and that such handouts were causing demoralization of these proud people did not seem to occur to the humanitarians. Furthermore, it was apparent that the feeding of the Sioux had not cooled the war spirit of young men like Crazy Horse.

Mainly because of the Black Hills, the government decided to rout out the hostiles among the Sioux and drive them into the agencies, by military force if necessary. Apparently the War Office thought that this would be an easy task, but they completely underestimated the fighting prowess of the Sioux and their allies. We all know what happened on that June day in 1876 when a detachment of the Seventh Cavalry under Custer rode confidently into a Sioux and Cheyenne encampment on the Little Big Horn. Waiting for them were some of the most illustrious of warriors; including Crazy Horse, Sitting Bull, Gall, Black Moon and Big Road.

Although the Battle of the Little Big Horn was a resounding victory for the Sioux, it also marked the end of their free roaming life. They would now be hounded even more by the military until they all consented to reservation life. After the battle, the hostiles only wanted to resume their yearly schedule and hunt in peace, but this was not to be allowed. Finally Sitting Bull, a Hunkpapa Sioux, took off for Canada and Crazy Horse returned to the Powder River in Wyoming.

The Indians at Red Cloud Agency were going through a period of crisis. The government was threatening to withdraw rations and send all of them to the Missouri or worse yet to Indian Territory in Oklahoma. To add fuel to the fire, the Agency was placed under military rule. Furthermore, Congress forgetting conveniently about the Treaty of 1868, passed a bill which stated that no more money would be appropriated for the Sioux until they gave up the Black Hills and the Big Horn and Powder River regions and also consented to removal to the Missouri or Indian Territory (1876). A commission was sent to obtain the signatures of the chiefs at the various agencies to a document of appropriation of these lands. Under fear of starvation and punishment from the military, the chiefs reluctantly signed and Pa Sapa was lost to the Sioux.



American Horse, leader of the Bear People.
(Photo courtesy of Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives.)

Several groups of hostiles were still camped outside of the agencies. Spotted Tail, the Brulé leader, went out to persuade them to come in. Nearly all did, including Crazy Horse and his followers. Agency life, however, did not agree with Crazy Horse and it was not too long before he came into conflict with agency officials and the Oglala chiefs who realized the futility of defiance and now wanted peace. Crazy Horse desired to return to his former free life on the Powder River. Unaccompanied by his followers, he left the Agency without permission. He was arrested by Indians and taken to Fort Robinson where he was killed in a scuffle. It almost seems that he wanted to die, this brave man of the Oglalas who could only live in the traditional freedom of the Sioux. After his death, Touching The Clouds said: "It is good: he has looked for death and it has come."[6] Much about Crazy Horse is shrouded in mystery. Not even an authentic photograph exists and no one is certain as to his burial place.

On one demand, the Oglalas refused to budge. They were not going to alien country, either on the Missouri or in Indian Territory. Red Cloud and other chiefs would speak only with the President and set out for Washington. President Hayes promised that if they would go to the Missouri for the winter where supplies were available, they could select their own site for an agency in the spring. In the spring of 1878, the Oglalas decided to place their new agency at the junction of Wolf Creek and White Clay Creek, near the Nebraska border at Pine Ridge. Now the Oglalas had a permanent home but this by no means signified the end of their troubles.

The Messiah Who Failed[7]

Red Cloud had no sooner settled himself comfortably and in relative peace at Pine Ridge when in 1879, Dr. Valentine T. McGillycuddy arrived as the new agent. So began what Hyde terms the seven years war between Red Cloud and McGillycuddy. McGillycuddy, physician and former military man, demanded rigorous discipline. He set up his own little empire with notices posted at the approaches demanding that visitors report immediately to the Agency. Anyone deemed as undesirable would be asked to leave and, if necessary, escorted out by the Indian police. The greatest thorn in McGillycuddy's side was Red Cloud who looked with disdain upon the new agent who was not only a former military man but also a mere boy as well, being under thirty years of age at the time of assuming the responsibility of the Agency. Thus followed a conflict between two strong-willed men. What McGillycuddy proposed, Red Cloud opposed; including the establishment of the Indian police and the boarding school. The agent courted Young Man Afraid Of His Horse against Red Cloud and Red Cloud sent denunciatory messages to Washington requesting the removal of the upstart agent.

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[6] Hyde, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

[7] Material for this section is from a number of sources: Hyde, a *Sioux Chronicle*; Olson, *Red Cloud* and the *Sioux Problem*; Utley, *Last Days* of the *Sioux Nation*; and Mooney, The *Ghost-Dance Religion*.

It is difficult to judge McGillycuddy today. It is true that he managed to prevent bloodshed and never resorted to calling in the Army, but one cannot say that peace reigned at Pine Ridge under his administration. The clashes between himself and Red Cloud kept the Agency in constant turmoil which at least prevented boredom. McGillycuddy also had the perspicacity to criticize the Bureau for its insistence on making farmers out of the Oglalas. He maintained that this was stock raising country, not suited to farming. Least forgivable was his deliberate and all too successful effort to destroy the traditional leadership patterns. McGillycuddy publicly deposed Red Cloud as head chief and humiliated him on several occasions. He took advantage of old rivalries to factionalize the Oglalas, setting one leader against another. He divided the people into two groups, calling those under Young Man Afraid Of His Horse the progressives and those under Red Cloud the blatherskites. The Agent caused further dissension by encouraging the proliferation of bands, the original seven bands increased to sixty-three.[8]

During this early period at Pine Ridge, the Oglalas began to settle in locations outside of the Agency and come into Pine Ridge for rations: the Kiyuksa Band under Little Wound on Medicine Root Creek (now the Kyle area), Red Dog on Wounded Knee Creek, Yellow Bear on the west side of White Clay Creek, the Payabya Band under Young Man Afraid Of His Horse on White Clay Creek in the vicinity of the present community of Payabya or Number Four, and No Flesh on Porcupine Tail Creek. Red Cloud remained near the Agency as did Red Shirt's and High Bear's Loafer Bands. Also, it was the 1880's that saw the last Sun Dance and great buffalo hunt at Pine Ridge. Civilization was closing in.

In 1889 a land commission under the chairmanship of General Crook completed the work of separating the Sioux from a great part of their land. A similar commission under Newton Edmunds had failed in 1882. This was one of the blackest periods in Sioux history. Through coercion involving threats and bribery, the Sioux signed away nearly half of their lands which were to be opened to White settlement and the reservation boundary lines were set. Up to this time, all land in South Dakota west of the Missouri River (except the Black Hills) belonged legally to the Sioux. Under Red Cloud's influence, most Oglalas had refused to sign the agreement, but the commission claimed to have a significant number of signers at the other agencies to claim three-quarters of adult males, the proportion needed to make the agreements binding. Utley quotes a comment made by a Sioux: "They made us many promises, more than I can remember, but they never kept but one: they promised to take our land and they took it."[9]

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[8] See Hyde, Sioux Chronicle, p. 74.

Morale in the winter of 1889 was further lowered by the reduction of Indian appropriations by Congress. Rations were severely cut at Pine Ridge and hunger and disease were the rewards to the Sioux for relinquishing their lands. It was little wonder the Sioux proved so susceptible to a nativistic movement like the Ghost Dance. This was the last hope of a demoralized people.

News of the messiah arrived at Pine Ridge in 1889 and a council of chiefs including Red Cloud, Young Man Afraid Of His Horse, Little Wound and American Horse met to consider the new religion. They sent a delegation across the mountains to meet the Paiute mystic. Indians from other tribes also made pilgrimages to Walker Lake, Nevada to visit Wovoka, also known as Jack Wilson. Wovoka's revelation had come to him in a dream and was described to Mooney who interviewed him in 1892.

> "On this occasion 'the sun died' (was eclipsed) and he fell asleep in the daytime and was taken to the other world. Here he saw God, with all the people who had died long ago engaged in their oldtime sports and occupations, all happy and forever young. It was a pleasant land and full of game. After showing him all, God told him he must go back and tell his people they must be good and love one another; have no quarreling; and live in peace with the Whites; that they must work and not lie or steal; that they must put away all the old practices that savored of war; that if they faithfully obeyed these instructions, there would be no more death or sickness or old age. He was then given the dance which he was commanded to bring back to his people."[10]

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9. Utley, The Last Days of the Sioux Nation, p. 59.
10. Mooney, The Ghost-Dance Religion, p. 13-14.

To perform the prescribed dance would hasten the happy reunion. In the dissemination of the religion, elements were altered; the Sioux version included the return of dead relatives, replenishment of the buffalo and the destruction of the Whites. All this would take place in the spring of 1891. A part of Sioux ritual was the wearing of a ghost dance shirt with sacred symbols which made one impervious to bullet wounds.

The Pine Ridge representatives returned in the spring of 1890, enthusiastic about the messiah. Agent Gallagher fearing the results of the new cult, jailed three of the representatives for two days. The main catalyst for the Ghost Dance among the Oglalas, Kicking Bear from Cheyenne River, then appeared at Pine Ridge. He told Red Cloud and others of the events he had seen among the Arapahoes. During their dances, people died temporarily and were transported to the spirit land where they talked to the dead relatives who told them they would return to earth to help in driving away the Whites. Red Cloud decided to accept the new religion and the fat was in the fire.

It was not, however, Red Cloud who encouraged the Ghost Dance at Pine Ridge, but Little Wound. Red Cloud eventually denounced the religion. A man named Porcupine began ghost dancing at Wounded Knee and Jack Red Cloud, son of the Chief, at No Water eight miles from the Agency. Unafraid now of the police because of the magical shirts and worked up to a pitch of hysteria, the Oglala ghost dancers awaited the day of fulfillment. Under these conditions, Agent Gallagher and thirty policemen walked into No Water Camp only to find themselves outnumbered by armed Oglalas. Gallagher tactfully retreated, deciding to use the chiefs to try to stamp out the Ghost Dance. If tribal authority failed, the military would be called in as a last resort. Unfortunately, Gallagher was replaced by a Dr. D.F. Royer who was afraid of the Indians, and requested help from the Army.

On November 19th troops arrived at Pine Ridge and the Agency became an armed camp. General Brooke, in charge of the troops, was determined to keep the peace. He made it known that no Sioux would be harmed and increased the beef rations. In the meantime, the ghost dancers were gathered at Wounded Knee and Yellow Medicine Root Creek and would soon be joined by a group of Brulés from Rosebud.

In December, however, due to cold and hunger and a growing disillusionment with the Ghost Dance, some ghost dancers and nearly all of the chiefs were encamped at Pine Ridge along with Indians who had never become advocates of the cult. Calm might have prevailed if it had not been for events at Standing Rock. Sitting Bull had been converted to the Ghost Dance and orders had come from Washington to arrest him. On December 15th, a group of Indian police surrounded Sitting Bull's house and in an exchange of gunfire, Sitting Bull was killed. A few of his followers fled to Hump's Camp and others to Big Foot's Camp on the Cheyenne River Reservation. Big Foot, a Miniconjou Sioux, was considered a hostile and an ardent follower of the Ghost Dance. While trying to decide whether to go to the Agency, a force of the Eighth Cavalry under Colonel Sumner placed Big Foot and his followers under arrest. Big Foot insisted that he had intended to go to the Cheyenne River Agency and Sumner allowed his band to proceed without military guard. After setting out, Big Foot was joined by the refugee Hunkpapas of Sitting Bull's band. They were in a pitiable state and were given aid by the Miniconjous who now returned to their homes. Sumner again made contact with Big Foot and still feeling confident in the Chief, he withdrew his troops. In a state of panic, Big Foot's band fled into the Badlands. A few of the group joined an encampment of ghost dancers who had sought refuge in the Badlands, but the greater part were headed for the safety of Pine Ridge.

The band was eventually apprehended by the Seventh Cavalry and placed under military escort without incident. They were marched to Wounded Knee, 15 miles from Pine Ridge where they camped for the night. Big Foot, ill with pneumonia, was provided a heated tent by the military. Colonel Forsyth, in charge of the unit, had been given orders to take the Indians to Gordon, Nebraska where they were to be sent by railway to a military post. Also, it was considered necessary to disarm the group before proceeding.

On the fateful morning of December 29th, the Indian men were gathered in front of Big Foot's tent and ordered to surrender their weapons. Only two ancient muskets were given up. The soldiers then began to search the camp, but found only a few useless guns. It was suspected that the Sioux were hiding their Winchesters under the blankets they were wearing. A medicine man named Yellow Bird began to try to arouse the warriors. He danced about blowing a bone whistle and haranguing the men. Accounts as to what happened next are confusing. Apparently a Sioux pulled a gun from under his blanket and wounded an officer. The warriors leaped to their feet and the soldiers began firing at them. The Hotchkiss guns which had been set up at strategic points were fired into the encampment filled with women and children. The Sioux began to flee and were pursued by the troops. Fleeing women and children were shot, some were found as far as two or three miles from the battlefield. The toll of dead was high, estimates vary but approximately 183 Indians, many of them women and children, and 25 soldiers were killed.

The Seventh Cavalry returned to Pine Ridge the same day, bringing their dead and wounded and also a few Indian women and children, some of whom were wounded. The Episcopal church at Pine Ridge was converted into a hospital to care for the wounded Indians.

Hearing the gunfire from Wounded Knee, a number of Sioux warriors set out from Pine Ridge and harassed the Cavalry on its march to Pine Ridge. Because of the presence of fighting Sioux, it wasn't until three days after the battle that a party of soldiers and Indian scouts returned to Wounded Knee. The dead Indians were buried in a common grave, now a part of the Catholic cemetery at Wounded Knee, and a few children were found alive and taken back to Pine Ridge.

On December 30th, a rumor that the Drexel Mission (Holy Rosary) had been set afire, sent units from the Seventh Cavalry to the Mission. A group of Sioux had burned down some empty log cabins, but the Mission had not been harmed. In the skirmish which followed, the Seventh Cavalry was trapped while pursuing a group of Sioux beyond the Mission and had to be rescued by the Negro Cavalry under Colonel Henry. This was the last military encounter between the Teton Dakota and the U.S. Army.

The massacre at Wounded Knee was not only a tragedy in that lives were lost but also because of the psychological consequences to the Sioux. This was the death of the hope that the Ghost Dance had promised. Now defeated, the path back to the traditional free life blocked forever; the Sioux sank deeper into a state of dependency and apathy from which they have never fully recovered. Wounded Knee in itself did not cause this but rather the events leading up to Wounded Knee which are the inevitable and tragic results of conquest. Wounded Knee was the climax to and the symbol of the loss of spirit of a once proud people.

What has happened to the Oglalas from 1891 to the present time, has not been systematically recorded. We will, however, be mentioning important milestones in the history of the Reservation under the various subjects discussed in the following chapters. In closing we present a selected list of books concerned either primarily or secondarily with the history of the Oglalas.

ANDRIST, Ralph K., The *Long Death*, the *Last Days* of the *Plains Indians*, N.Y., Macmillan, 1964.

A beautifully written account of the final struggle of the Plains tribes against the tide of White encroachment on their territory.

BLACKBURN, Thomas Wakefield, A *Good Day* to *Die*, N.Y., David McKay, 1967.

A novel about the events leading to the Battle of Wounded Knee as seen through the eyes of a journalist who made friends with Sitting Bull and visited the Ghost Dance Messiah.

HANS, Fred M., The *Great Sioux Nation*, Minneapolis, Ross and Haines, 1964.

A reprint of this 19th century classic on the Sioux.

HYDE, George E., *Red Cloud's Folk*, A *History* of the *Oglala Sioux Indians*, Norman, Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma Press, 1937.

A detailed account of the Oglalas from their early days in Minnesota up to the establishment of the Pine Ridge Agency in 1878.

HYDE, George E., A *Sioux Chronicle*, Norman, Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma Press, 1956.

A history of the Sioux from 1878 to the Wounded Knee massacre in 1890.

McGILLYCUDDY, Julia B., *McGillycuddy: Agent*, a *Biography* of *Valentine T. McGillycuddy*, Stanford University Press, 1941.

A biography of this most famous agent among the Oglalas written by his second wife.

MOONEY, James, The *Ghost-Dance Religion* and the *Sioux Outbreak* of 1890, abridged, with an introduction by Anthony Wallace, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1965.

Originally published by the Smithsonian Institution in 1896, this is an anthropological classic concerned with the various manifestations of the Ghost Dance in several tribes and with the culmination of the Ghost Dance among the Sioux in the tragedy of Wounded Knee.

OLSON, James C., *Red Cloud* and the *Sioux Problem*, Lincoln, Nebraska, University of Nebraska Press, 1965.

A history of the Sioux centered around this colorful leader of the Oglalas.

SANDOZ, Mari, *Crazy Horse*, The *Strange Man* of the *Oglalas*, Bison Books, University of Nebraska Press, 1942.

A fanciful but well-written biography of this greatest of Oglala warriors.

UTLEY, Robert M., The *Last Days* of the *Sioux Nation*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1963.

A history of the Sioux in the twilight of their traditional life, just before and during the massacre at Wounded Knee.

CHAPTER IV

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

Introduction

The economic situation on the Pine Ridge Reservation is the underlying cause of many of the present problems and affects adversely nearly every aspect of Oglala life. In traditional culture, hunting was the major economic activity. With the disruption of the society, the principal means of livelihood was lost and no adequate substitute has been found. To tide them over during the transition period, provision was made by the government in the form of rations and annuities. These were accepted by the Oglalas as compensation for the loss of land and confinement to a reservation. Thus living at least partially on the dole became an expected way of life and has continued to be so today for a portion of the Indians.

The lack of a stable economic base has taken its toll not only in the material aspects of life but psychologically as well. In most societies, a high percentage of activities center around the economic sphere which not only ensures physical survival but also gives purpose to life. Not that earning one's bread and butter is the only purpose in life, but it is a vital one. With limited economic activities, some of the purpose has gone out of life for the Oglalas and some of the means of gaining status, especially in the case of the men.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, efforts to encourage the Oglalas to farm met with little success because of a cultural rejection of this type of activity and because farming was simply not productive given the climatic conditions. Cattle raising seemed the logical solution because of the appeal of the cowboy life to the Oglalas and because of being better suited to land and weather conditions than farming.

Cattle raising was indeed a fairly successful enterprise in the early part of this century. During World War I, however, the Indians were encouraged to sell their cattle and the big cattle companies moved in to lease large quantities of land.[1]

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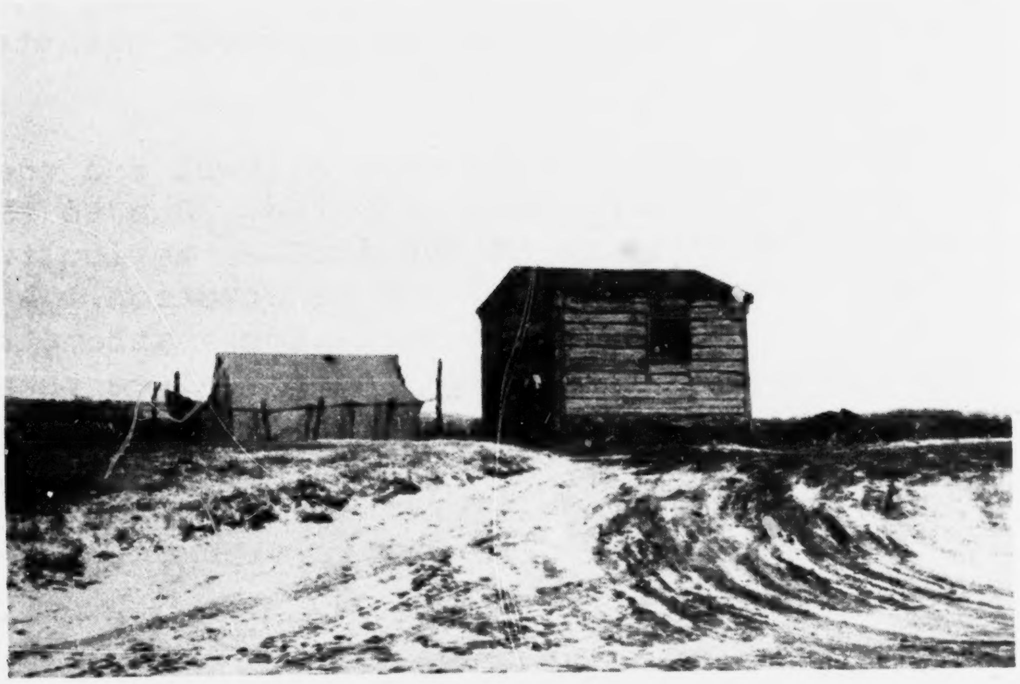
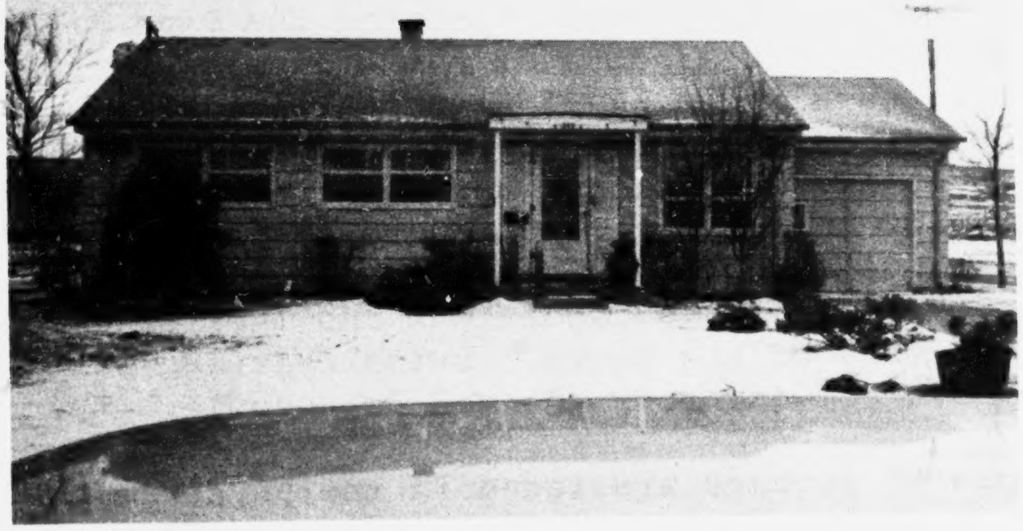
[1] See John Glover, "History of Washington-Shannon County" in Big Foot Historical Society. Reservation Round-up, p. 70.





Two types of housing on the Reservation

In 1917, leasing of lands to Whites increased to the extent that most Indian lands were being utilized by Whites until 1921. Macgregor calls these events the greatest disaster since the vanishing of the buffalo.[2]

In the early twenties, Indians were allowed and encouraged to sell their lands and a land boom resulted. Due to the Depression and drought conditions in the 1930's, agricultural efforts failed and many Whites left the Reservation. A number of Indian men worked for the CCC at that time. Attempts to reestablish the cattle industry among Indians since then have been largely unsuccessful. The fragmentation of land and the large capital investment required to begin stock raising have hampered these efforts. However, a number of Indian families, mainly Mixed Blood, have managed to retain or acquire sufficient land to make a success of ranching.

During World War II, many Oglalas left the Reservation, most of them temporarily, to serve in the Armed Forces or to work in war industries. A fairly high percentage worked at the Army Ordnance Depot at Igloo, South Dakota and some remained there after the war and up to the closing of the Depot in 1967.

The economic pattern since World War II has followed pretty much the pattern that exists today and which will be discussed in some detail in this chapter.

Outward Manifestations of the Economic Situation

To even the casual observer visiting the Pine Ridge Reservation, certain outward aspects of the economic situation are apparent. In general, the physical appearance of the Indian people is not one of a poverty stricken population. Signs of undernourishment are not evident and the clothing is not shabby or inadequate for the climate. One notes especially the neatness of appearance which seems all the more remarkable considering the crowded living conditions and lack of water and electricity in many of the homes. Being neat and well-dressed, however, is more common among the younger people.

The signs of poverty are found in the physical environment rather than in personal appearance. It is the housing that strikes one as incongruous in twentieth century, affluent American society. Many of the houses resemble frontier type

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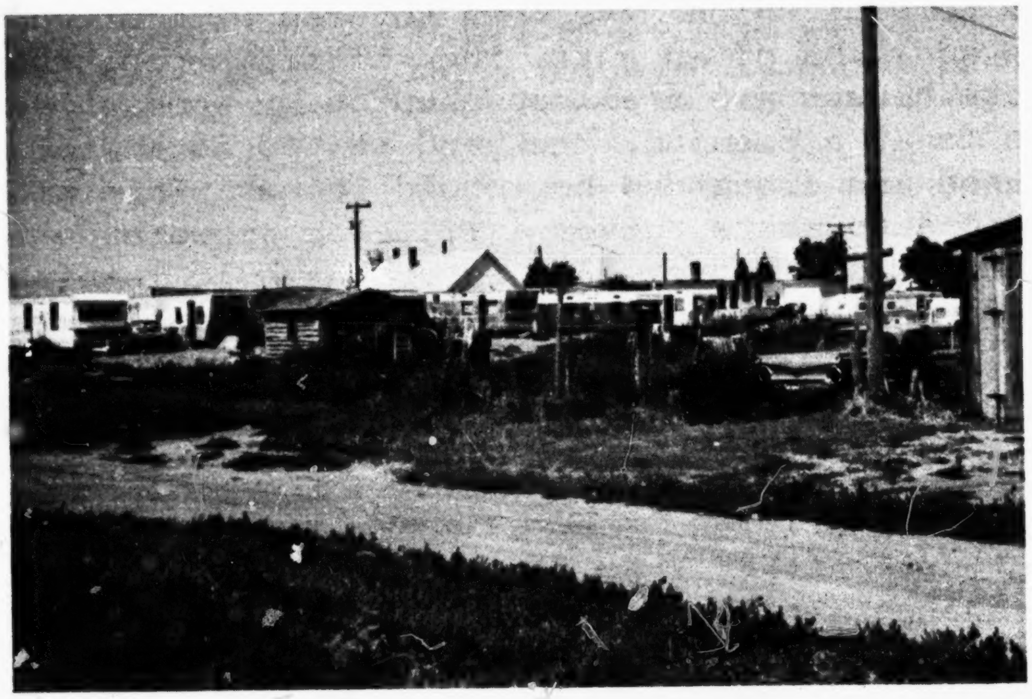
[2] Gordon Macgregor, Warriors Without Weapons, p. 39.



Housing area in Wanblee community.

Igloo housing, Pine Ridge village.

housing of the 19th century. In fact, 33% of the houses are log cabins, some of which have been covered with stucco with perhaps the addition of an extra room of frame construction. Most of these houses are small and heated by wood stoves. Because space is at a premium, the yard serves as a storage space for still-used and discarded household items. This along with old autos and auto parts, gives a littered appearance to the area surrounding the houses. Inside, household furnishings are limited by space and poverty. In the poorest houses, the only furnishings are generally beds covered with quilts, a stove and a table and chairs.

Inside plumbing is not available in the poorer homes and so one finds outside privies, some of which lack doors and of such flimsy construction that they collapse in wind storms. Only 40% of the Indian households have water piped into the house and 30% have pumps in the yards. The remainder of households must carry their water from neighbors, creeks or a community pump house.

Over half of the houses (54%) are of frame construction. Many of these houses are also substandard. In general, the better housing is tribal owned and rented to Indian families. The trailer, both among Indians and Non-Indians, is becoming increasingly popular, 9% of Indian and 15% of Non-Indian houses are of this type. Recently a group of prefabricated frame houses used by government employees at Igloo were brought to Pine Ridge and are being sold at minimal cost to families in need of housing.

One also notes the overcrowded conditions in Indian homes, 21% of the households live in one room houses (9% of the Mixed Bloods and 32% of the Full Bloods). One household of 21 persons lives in a one-room house. Almost half of the Indian households (46%) reside in houses with one or two rooms, as compared to 5% of the Non-Indian households. The modal[3] Indian house consists of two rooms, whereas the modal Non-Indian house has five rooms.

In calculating the average number of persons per room, our data shows that this is .65 for Non-Indians and 1.81 for Indians. This, of course, does not take into consideration the size of the rooms, but does give us some idea of the space-person relationship in Pine Ridge housing.

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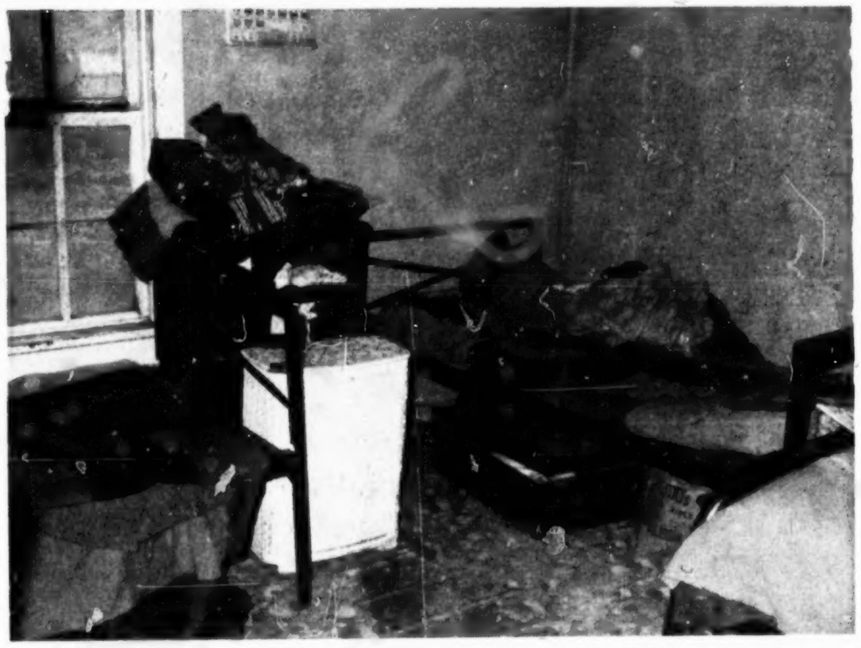
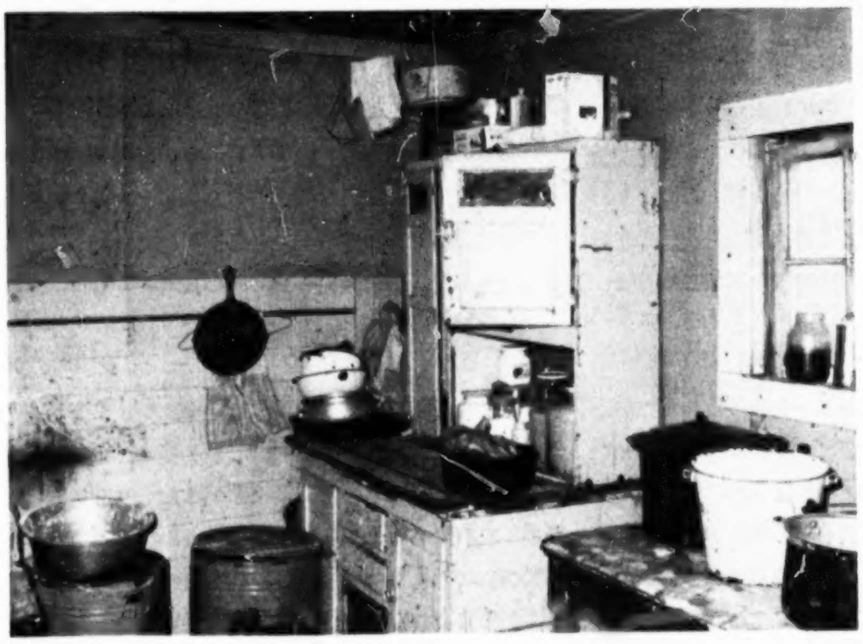
[3] Modal refers to the category having the highest percentage of cases.





House interiors.
(Photo courtesy of Community Health Aide Program.)

It is thus in the housing situation that one views most clearly the economic situation and better housing is the number one felt need of the Indians. From the standpoint of world poverty, the Oglalas would not be considered poor, but in the United States, their living conditions would place them among the nation's most economically depressed minority groups and this will become evident in subsequent discussion of their economic situation as revealed in our research.

Income Levels

The low household income of a majority of Oglalas would place them below the poverty level. Over half (63%) of the Indians live in households in which the self-reported annual income is below $3,000. Greater impoverishment is more evident among Full Bloods, 81% have a household income of under $3,000 as compared to 47% among Mixed Bloods.

As regards income by households, 67% of the Indian households have an income (self-reported) of under $3,000 and this compares to 36% among U.S. Nonwhites, 19% among Pine Ridge Non-Indians and 14% among U.S. Whites (see chart on p.62).

Employment Rates

Looking at the employment status of Indians 16 years and over, one third are employed full or part-time, 19% are unemployed, 28% are housewives, 4% are disabled, 4% retired, and 12% are students. To grasp the extent of the unemployment problem, let us look only at the labor force, that is at the employable population (eliminating housewives, retired, disabled and students); and compare the rate of employment with that of the general U.S.

Among Whites in the U.S., the unemployment rate is around 3.5% of the labor force and among Nonwhites it is 7.9%. Among the Pine Ridge Indians, it is 36.6%, or let us say unemployment here is over ten times that of the White population and over four times higher than among Nonwhites. Furthermore, among the employed, over one fourth are employed part-time. Among those employed full-time, 13% have temporary jobs and among the part-time employed, 73% are working on a temporary basis. The problem then is not only one of unemployment, but of underemployment as well.

As regards participation in the labor force, that is the percentage of employable persons, 16 years and over, one finds that it is lower than in the general U.S. population, 66% for the Oglalas and 77% in the general population. Some of this is due to the high percentage of males who are outside of the labor force because of disablement: one out of ten Full Bloods and 3.7% of the Mixed Bloods.

Who are the unemployed among the Indians? A greater proportion of the Full Blood men (46%) than Mixed Blood men (31%) in the labor force are unemployed.

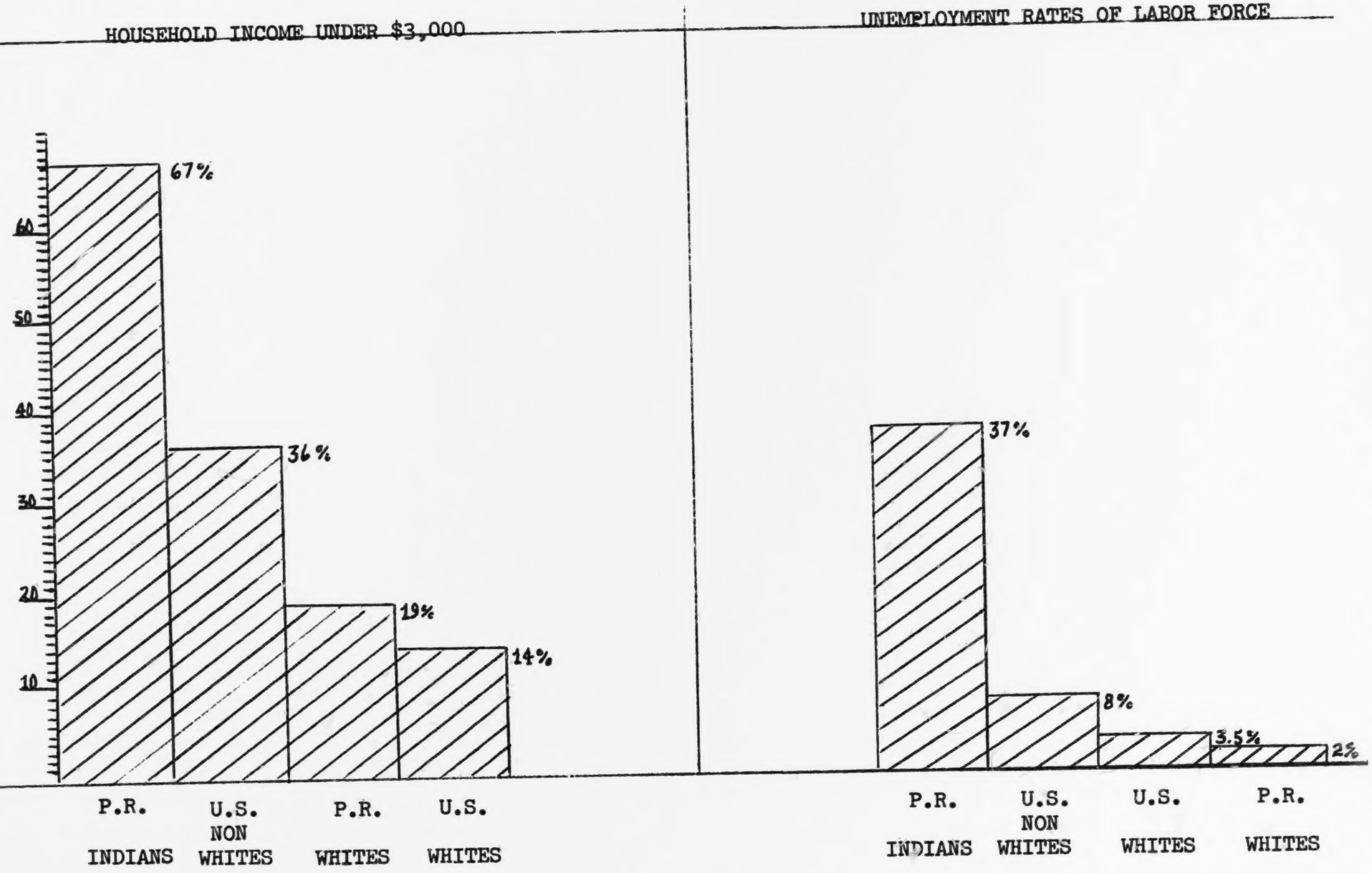
Unemployment also depends on age. It is among Indians in the youngest and older age groups who have the highest rate of unemployment. Among Indian males, over half who are 18 and 19 years old in the labor force are unemployed, 44% between 20 through 24 years and 42% among those 55-64 years. The lowest unemployment rate is found among men in the 25 through 44 year age group. Marital status is another vital factor in employment. The married man living with his wife is the most likely to be employed, especially between the ages of 25 through 54 years. The highest unemployment rate is found among single men or those separated from their wife. For example, 28.4% of the married men are unemployed compared to 55.2% of the unmarried or separated. A slightly higher percentage of single or separated women (28%) are employed than among married women (23%).

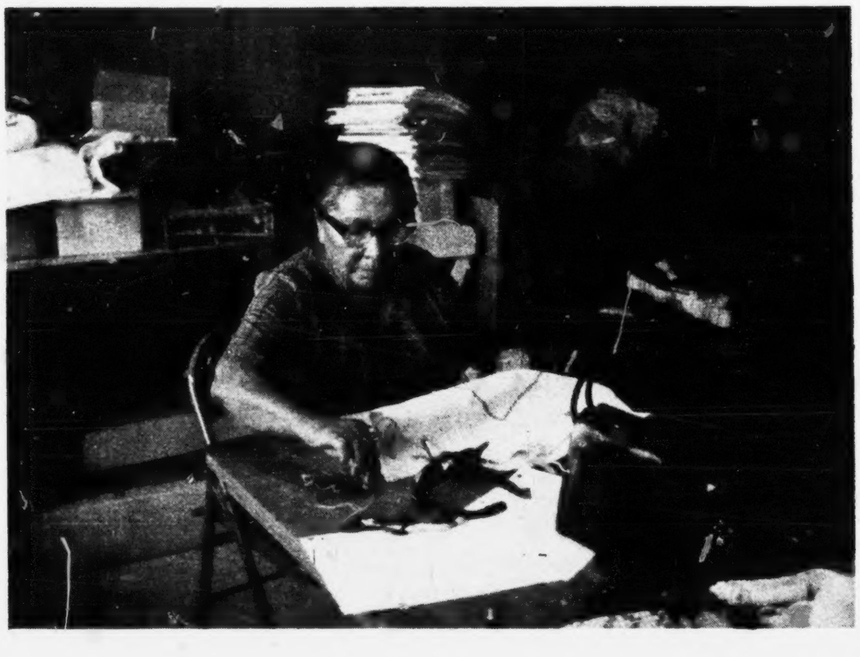
The most important factor in employment is education. The higher one's educational level, the greater is the likelihood of being employed. As an example, males in the labor force (25 years and over) who have less than a grammar school education have an unemployment rate of 48% whereas those with a high school education have 22% unemployed. Among college graduates, there are no unemployed. As we can see from the above statistics, however, being a high school graduate does not guarantee employment.

The Indian man most likely to be unemployed then, speaking in general terms, is under 25 years of age or between 55 and 64 years of age, single or not living with his wife and has less than a grammar school education.

Before ending this section, let us say something briefly about employment status of households. The startling fact is that in 36% of the Indian households, no one is working. Among Non-Indians on the Reservation, 12% of the households have no one working.

COMPARISON OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATES OF RESERVATION POPULATION WITH U.S. WHITE AND NONWHITE POPULATION





The government is the main employer of Indians. Above are BIA workers. Below - Mrs. Isabelle Red Hair, homemaker aide, is employed by the OEO.

The household head only is working in 30% of the Indian households and 62% of Non-Indian households. The household head and wife are both working in 11% of the Indian households and 17% of Non-Indian households. In 4% of the Indian households, only the wife of the household head is working in comparison to 1% of the Non-Indian households.

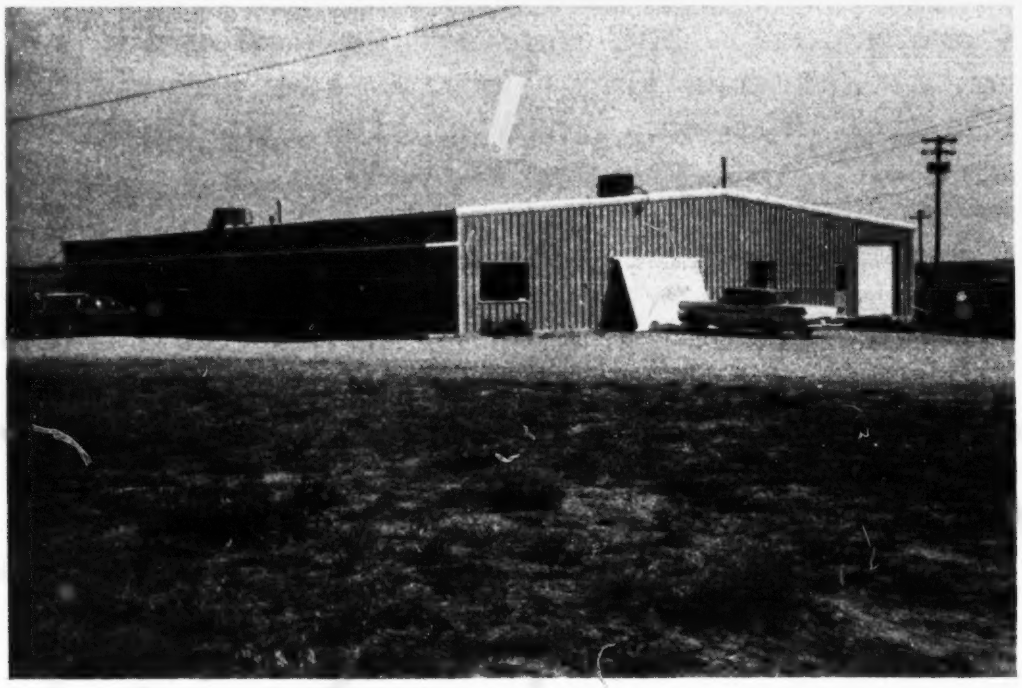
Sources of Employment

One could without hesitation state that government agencies in Pine Ridge form the backbone of the economy. As a matter of fact, over half (54%) of the sample Indian population in the work force is working for a government agency: Bureau of Indian Affairs (20%), Office of Economic Opportunity (16%), the Tribe (6%), the Public Health Service (5%) and other government agencies (7%).

Next to the government the most important source of employment is industry or construction (18%). This statement unfortunately should be in the past tense because the major company, Wright-McGill, closed their factories after completion of our Baseline Data Study. In 1961, Wright-McGill began to operate fishhook factories for hand-snelling hooks and eventually there were factories in Pine Ridge village, Kyle, Porcupine and Wounded Knee, In July 31, 1968, the last factory closed. The closing of these factories means that the unemployment rate of the labor force is now approximately 40%. The only factory now in operation is the Moccasin Factory in Pine Ridge village which employs 26 Indians plus 24 persons who work in their homes on a piecework basis. Also, construction companies hire Indian personnel, mostly in a temporary capacity.

Self-employment provides the third most important source of employment (15%). Most of this involves ranching. Over one third of the Mixed Blood males in the working force and 3% of the Full Blood males are self-employed.

The fourth source of employment are individuals (13%), mostly ranchers or farmers, who hire ranch or farm hands either fairly permanently or seasonally.



The Moccasin Factory, Pine Ridge village.
(Photo courtesy of the BIA.)

It is obvious that the Oglala has a limited number of choices in regard to employment and that the existing work sources are precarious. The most stable employment sources are governmental and even these sources are subject to the whimsies of budget changes. This applies especially to the poverty programs.

30% of employed Indians work in Pine Ridge village, 25% live in the village and 5% commute mainly because of a housing shortage in the village.

Before closing this discussion on employment sources, we should mention the importance of seasonal employment. Over one quarter of the adult population (sample population) is engaged in this type of employment, mostly involving harvesting of potatoes and beets in Nebraska. Other types of seasonal employment are fire fighting, general farm work, and domestic work. Besides the unemployed, many Indians not usually a part of the labor force (housewives, disabled, retired), participate in seasonal employment.

Occupational Structure

The sources of work reveal only a part of the employment picture. We also must consider the types of jobs held by the Oglalas. Among males in the work force, ranchers comprise the highest percentage in a single occupation (23% of the sample population). The other most represented occupations are factory worker (11%), farm laborer (10%), maintenance man (7%), OEO aide (6%), bus driver (5%), carpenter (4%) and policeman (3%).

Among women, clerical positions account for the highest percentage of occupations (18%). The other most common occupations are: teachers' aide (13%), factory worker (13%), OEO aide (10%), cook (6%), domestic worker (5%), teacher (5%), practical nurse or nurses' aide (5%) and kitchen helper (3.5%).

Most of the higher status positions on the Reservation are filled by Non-Indians. This is due to the lack of college trained personnel among the Oglalas and also because many of the more highly educated seek employment off the Reservation.

Using a modified version of Warner's seven-point Revised Scale for Rating Occupation[4] in which the highest status occupations are rated (professionals requiring graduate training) as

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[4] See W. Lloyd Warner, Social Class in America, p. 140-141.

"one" and the lowest status occupations (unskilled labor) are rated as "seven", we find that the highest percentage (28%) of the Indian work force is in the seven or lowest status category whereas only 9% of the Non-Indians on the Reservation would be so classified.

The majority of Indian workers (73%) fall into the three lowest status occupational categories compared to 26% of the Non-Indians. In contrast, 56% of the Non-Indians fall into the three highest status categories, only 15% of the Indians are in the three highest categories. Most of the Indians in the higher status categories are ranchers, teachers or managers of government offices. In the highest or one category, we find only 0.8% of the Indian work force and 3.2% of the Non-Indian workers.

Sources of Income

There are three major sources of income among the Oglalas: employment (earned), welfare or pensions (unearned) and land lease payments (unearned). Considering first earned and unearned income, we find that in our sample population, 24% of the Indian respondents have a completely earned income compared to 54% of Non-Indians. 21% of the Indians have both earned and unearned income, 40% have only unearned income and 14% have no income (mostly wives). Totally unearned income is more prevalent among Full Bloods (45%) than among Mixed Bloods (30%).

A great deal has been said about the economically dependent position of Indians. Let us look at the facts. Over one third of the sample population receives a pension or welfare. It is, however, the rate of welfare payments that interests us most. A little over one out of five adults (22%) receives welfare assistance of some kind, 29% of the women and 12% of the men. The highest percentage is found among Full Blood women (36%). Welfare payments include Aid to Dependent Children (ADC); other state welfare such as Aid to the Disabled, Aid to Blind, Old Age Assistance; and BIA General Assistance.

Looking only at ADC, the largest welfare category, we find that almost one out of five Indian women (19%) receives this type of welfare; 13% of the Mixed Blood women and 25% of the Full Blood women. Among Non-Indians, .5% receive ADC. Considering the rate of total recipients in comparison to the national and South Dakota rates, we find that 18.6% of Shannon County Indian residents are recipients of ADC. This is almost seven times higher than the national rate of 2.7% and over nine times higher than for South Dakota. (2.0%). This high rate of ADC payments is partially a reflection of the instability of the nuclear family and the lack of economic resources on the Reservation.

As well as welfare, eligible Indian families receive commodities consisting of such staple items as flour, lard, etc., and some canned goods.

Every year, just before Christmas, an event occurs which brings great joy to local merchants and consternation to Law & Order. It is the time for receiving land lease payment checks. About half of the Oglalas receive land lease payments ranging from $1.00 to $3300, but only three or four people receive checks over $1,000.

The Land - Leasing and Ownership

The land situation in Pine Ridge is a complicated one, so please bear with us in our efforts to unravel the intricacies of land use, allotments, leasing and sale, etc.

The Treaty of 1886* provided that any head of family who desired to cultivate the land, could select a tract of 320 acres. A single person 18 years or over was entitled to 80 acres. Later, however, the amount of land was increased. In accordance with the Act of 1889, allotments numbering 1 through 312 were assigned and approved as of March 10, 1905. Each head of a family was allotted a section of land (640 acres). The wife and any single person 18 years or over on July 29, 1904 received 320 acres and each child under 18 years 160 acres. The last allotment (no. 8074), was issued on July 19, 1933. No one born after 1916 was entitled to an allotment. No stipulation was made as to the degree of Indian blood; and if justified, land might be issued to a Non-Indian (i.e., a Non-Indian man married to an Indian) but this was rare.[5]

Those receiving allotments were allowed to select the site. In this way bands and extended families could remain in the same general area. Besides the land, each allottee was entitled to a wagon, harness, plow, pitch fork, axe, hoe, 2 mares and 2 milk cows and $50 in cash. (This was later known as the Sioux Benefits). It was hoped that this would inspire

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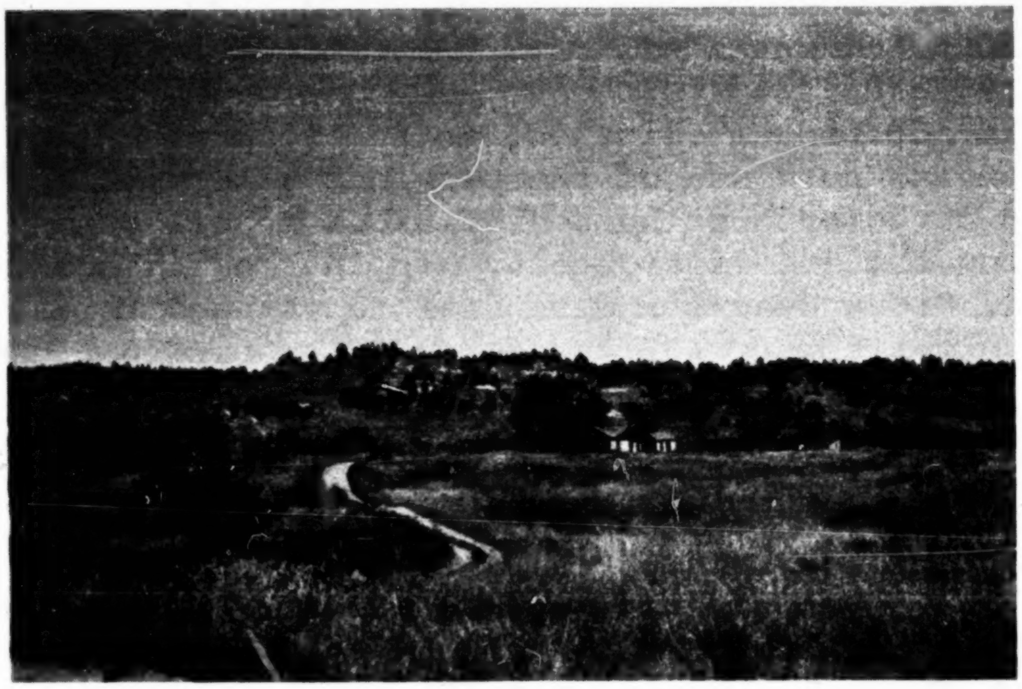
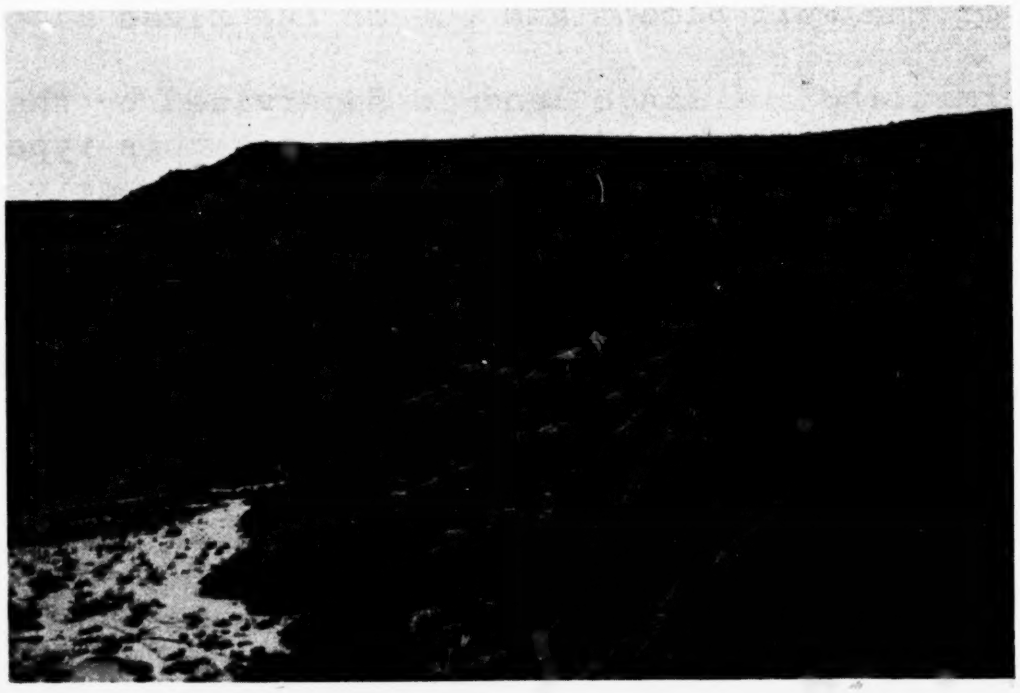
[5] Information on land was generously supplied by Tom Conroy, Jack Lewis and Eugene Eggleston of the Land Operations and Realty Branches of the BIA in Pine Ridge.

*See Errata, p. 184





Reservation Panoramas.
(Photos courtesy of the BIA.)

and provide the means for the Oglalas to become self-supporting agriculturists. Land remaining after issuance of allotments was to be opened to homesteaders.

Several additional allotment acts were passed in 1907 and in 1908 amending portions of the previous allotment act. The Act of 1928 directed continuance of Sioux Benefits to allottees when reaching the age of eighteen. In the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, Sioux Benefits were again continued to allottees. At that time there were 167,780 acres of submarginal unallotted lands. Divided up into 80 acre tracts, there would be 2,097 more allotments. But since the land was of little value, it was decided that instead of allotting it, Sioux Benefits amounting to the cash value of the equipment and livestock formerly issued to allottees plus $50 would be given to Oglalas 18 years and over who had not received original allotments or they would receive Sioux Benefits when they reached 18 years of age. This would continue on a first come, first serve basis until 2,097 Oglalas had received the Benefit. The last Sioux Benefit was issued in 1946 at Pine Ridge.

As we stated earlier, some Indians did become ranchers, but many began leasing out their lands as early as 1891. Today, according to our Baseline Study (sample population), among those Indians who own land, 83% are leasing out all or part of their lands; 95% of the Full Bloods and 66% of the Mixed Bloods.

The permitting[6] of range land is supervised by the BIA Branch of Land Operations. In permitting out this type of land, tribal members are given first chance and receive a three year permit which is revocable if the permittee overgrazes, overstocks or otherwise misuses the land. Indian cattlemen pay the minimum of $20.50 annually per head of cattle for permitted land. Range land not permitted to Indians is then opened up for bidding to Non-Indians who sometimes pay two or three times more than Indians for permitted land. This depends, of course, on the amount of the highest bid. This results in friction between the landowners and the Indian cattlemen. The Indian owner would like all range units to be permitted on the basis of bidding because they know the Non-Indian cattlemen will pay more to run cattle on the Reservation. The Indian cattlemen on the other hand, naturally prefer this arrangement because they have difficulty competing with the White ranchers.

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[6] Range land is not leased, permits are issued for use.

The Indian permittor has no say about who leases his land, but must accept the decisions of Land Operations. This seems arbitrary on the surface but is necessary because through heirship, many of the range units are owned by a number of individuals (one unit may be owned by as many as 70-80 individuals). To pay for the permit and consolidate grazing units between the parties involved would be too impractical for both the permittor and permittee.

Farm and haying land is handled by the BIA Branch of Realty. In this case the lessor selects his own leasee and the two decide on the terms of the lease. The Realty Branch approves the agreement if the Indian is receiving a fair price. Payment is made to the individual personally and not through Realty unless the lessor uses his lease income as collateral for a tribal loan in which case the lessee makes his payment to Realty. Another instance in which Realty handles the lease money is when a tract of land is owned by multiple heirs. In this case, the leasee may pay Realty in one check and Realty divides the money among heirs.

The lessee and lessor sign a legal contract and after such a contract is signed, the owner has no control over the use of his land as long as the lessee complies with the terms of the lease.

In December, 1968, over half a million dollars in lease money was paid out in approximately 3300 checks. This is not the annual total as lease payments are due at other times of the year. A total of 1,032,861 acres of Indian trust land (allotted and tribal) is being leased, 58.5% to Indians and 41.5% to Non-Indians.

The policy in regard to the right of Indians to sell land has fluctuated between encouragement of sale of Indian lands to efforts to keep Reservation land in Indian hands. The problem is a difficult one for the BIA. If sale of Indian lands is restricted then critics contend that you are interferring with an individual's right to dispose of his property as he sees fit. On the other hand, if too many Indians sell their land to Whites then a hue and cry results about how more and more land is being lost to the Indians.

Beginning in 1907, some land sales were permitted, but ten years later Indians were encouraged to sell their lands by the government. In fact, fee patents were issued arbitrarily to Indians judged competent and this land went out of trust and became deeded land, subject to taxation. In consequence, many Indians had their lands confiscated by the counties for nonpayment of taxes. Under pressure in the form of petitioning and lobbying by Indians and their Non-Indian allies, the government reversed its policy. In 1927 the government ordered that land seized under these conditions be returned to the Indian owners as trust land, provided they had not sold or mortgaged any of it.

Today any Indian may make application to sell allotted land, but the application is subject to review by the BIA and if the sale is in the applicant's best interest, his application may be approved. There are three types of land sales: to individual tribal members, to the Tribe and advertised sales. In the latter case, the highest bidder purchases the land which then goes out of trust. In 1968, about 8,000 acres went out of trust through land sales.

In regard to land ownership on the Reservation, it is difficult to obtain exact figures on how much is still owned by Indians. From BIA statistics, we do have the following breakdown in regard to land ownership:

TYPE OF LAND	ACREAGE	%
Allotted land	1,089,076	39.1
Tribal land	371,845	13.3
U.S. government	54,975	2.0
Other (deeded, state, county)	1,270,644	45.6
	2,786,540	100.0

From this data, we know that at least 52% of the land is still in Indian hands. Also we know that at least 45,000 acres of fee land is owned by Indians through issuance of fee patents. We, however, do not know the extent of fee land owned by Indians through purchase of land already in the non-trust category or through buying of county land sold for taxes. A rough estimate would be that 55%-56% of the Reservation land is owned by Indians.

As one would expect, Bennett County, the ceded portion of the Reservation, has the least amount of Indian land; but still has 210,775 acres of allotted land and 90,132 acres of tribal land. Shannon County has 710,660 acres of trust land and Washabaugh County 420,125 acres of trust land.

Cattle now graze where once the buffalo roamed.

The division of land causes some interesting problems. For example, part of the village of Wanblee is on non-trust land and part on tribal land. Many of the Indians living in the fee portion are really squatters. They have not paid the county taxes and live in fear of eviction. Also, this hinders community development because if improvements are made, i.e., water and sewage installations, they are afraid that someone will buy up the land for back taxes.

Use of the Land

According to our survey, 63% of the Indians (sample population) own land; 72% of the Full Bloods and 53% of the Mixed Bloods. 25% own land individually, 25% own shared land and 13% have both individual and shared land holdings.

Of those who own land, 26.5% are using all or part of the land, 19% of the Full Bloods and 38% of the Mixed Bloods. Considering the total sample population, only 11% are ranching or farming on their lands.

Of land under BIA jurisdiction, (trust land), 67% of the grazing land is being utilized by Indians and 39% by Non-Indians. Of dry farmed land, 14% is used by Indians and 86% by Non-Indians.

According to BIA statistics on the use of land under their jurisdiction, 240 Indian families are engaged in agricultural enterprises, 92% ranching and 8% ranching and farming. This is 12% of the total Indian families and corresponds quite closely to our findings on the Baseline Study. These statistics reflect the Indian preference for ranching over farming, no family using trust land is engaged in just farming.

In contrast to Indians, 38.5% of the total Non-Indian families on the Reservation are using land under BIA jurisdiction. This, of course, does not mean that 38.5% of Non-Indian families are ranching and/or farming because some Non-Indian families are using fee land only.

Most of the best farm or haying land is on the eastern side of the Reservation. The main crops on the Reservation are winter wheat and alfalfa.[7] Secondary crops are oats, rye, barley, sorghum, corn and flax. A large portion of the Reservation is unsuited to farming because of the lack of rainfall and possibilities of erosion.

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7. Information on agriculture has been provided by Lynn Keyes, Shannon County Extension Agent.

The greater part of the land is being used for cattle raising. The number of cattle owned by Indians has been increasing since 1945 so that in 1968 more cattle (33,166) were owned by Indians than Non-Indians (28,612). In 1945, Non-Indians owned 15,125 cattle in contrast to 10,606 head owned by Indians. The main breeds of cattle on Pine Ridge are Hereford, Angus and Charlois.

Conclusions and Comments

From the foregoing evidence, we can conclude that the economic situation among the Oglalas is a deplorable one. Here we have a largely non-agricultural rural population living on an island of poverty surrounded by relative prosperity. True, there are other poverty populations in the United States, but our data shows that the Oglalas are worse off than the general Negro population of this country. Income levels are lower, unemployment rate higher and the employment available is precarious and largely low status, allowing little room for pride of accomplishment. Housing and sanitation standards also fall below those found in many city ghettos.

Why despite the expenditure of large sums of money, brains and interest; does the population remain among the economically deprived? We can answer this at least partially.

Both the donor and receiving groups must share the blame. It has been much easier for government agencies to provide subsistence to the Oglalas than to launch a major economic development program. The amount of money required to carry out a plan of development would seem enormous compared to a yearly budget to meet the immediate needs of the Oglalas. (This year's budget for various services on the Reservation is almost 7 million dollars.) But in the long run which alternative would be the least costly? Besides welfare payments, the economic situation makes it necessary to provide more services than would be required given a higher economic level. Among services which could be reduced are: health services because of better environmental and mental health conditions, housing programs because Indians could finance their own housing which would be better suited to individual family needs, government sponsored programs of artificially created employment. Also, of course, is the cost to mental health which lack of purpose and poverty have caused.

The attitudes toward work of the Oglalas themselves have also helped to perpetuate poverty. When employment is available, some Indians work only temporarily or have a high rate of absenteeism and tardiness. This attitude has its roots in a cultural rejection of work for work's sake and of especially wage work requiring regular hours, in feelings that the government or relatives will care for them when unemployed and that it is the obligation of the government to provide them sustenance due to the wrongs perpetrated against them. One remembers those often quoted words of Red Cloud:

> "Father, the Great Spirit did not make us to work. He made us to hunt and fish. He gave us the great prairies and hills and covered them with buffalo, deer and antelope. He filled the rivers and streams with fish. The White man can work if he wants to, but the Great Spirit did not make us for work. The White man owes us a living for the lands he has taken from us."[8]

What some Indians do not realize is that they are the ones who have suffered the most because of the price they have paid for their dependency both psychologically and physically.

However, the Indian attitude towards work is a natural one given the acculturation situation and the lack of meaningful employment. As Mindell points out, the Oglala is

> "adapting himself to the world he lives in. If your world is one where there is little work, where opportunities are few and jobs that are available are low paying and if the only meaning of work is in getting some money, then it should follow that the motivation to work may not be high, so that the learning techniques to support oneself may revolve around getting through agency red tape."[9]

Also we might add that employers of Indians have often helped to sustain the stereotype of the Indian worker by their preconceived attitudes and level of expectation. The employer may be stricter with an Indian worker than with a Non-Indian and fire the Indian after his first transgression of rules or he may go to the opposite extreme and allow the Indian to get away with more than he would a White employee because "that's the way Indians are." Neither extreme helps to develop responsibility.

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[8] James Olson, Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem, p. 266.

[9] Carl Mindell, M.D., "Indians and Poverty" in Pine Ridge Research Bulletin, June 1968, p. 14.

We would like to emphasize that we are not speaking of all Indians. Many are reliable and hard working. If this were not the case, the government agencies could not function on the Reservation.

What can be done to improve the economic situation on the Pine Ridge Reservation? We would like to make a few suggestions based on our findings and observations. Let us first point out that 600 jobs are needed at the present time and as the large teenage population comes of age more jobs will be needed.

What is required in long-range planning is some type of enterprise or industry which would offer employment on various levels, chances of advancement through training and performance, and provide permanent employment. This should preferably be one which offers meaningful employment which is challenging and can confer status. This all sounds like an easier said than done proposition but we feel it is possible. What would be needed in planning are economists and management experts who recognize cultural factors and can use these to help select the appropriate type of enterprise and provide work incentives. Above all, planning should involve Indian leaders. In fact the Indians should take the initiative not only in getting an enterprise to locate on the Reservation, but in the selection of the enterprise and in the planning involved to make the enterprise a success. The company willing to operate here should also be open to trying various experiments in the first years to ascertain the types of incentives which lead to high production and stability of the work force. If the fishhook factories finally managed to obtain a stable work force even though the work was low paying and monotonous, we feel that an industry or enterprise offering more incentives would be successful here.

We realize that the chance of an industry being willing to operate here is a slim one. As Hagen and Schaw point out,

> "The disadvantages of the southern and southwestern South Dakota area are obvious. It is removed from population centers, and thus from markets. No natural materials of importance for industrial production which are not also available at many other places are apparent. Because of the rural character the location is unattractive to management, and lacks the accessibility of auxiliary services... The labor available is unskilled, and lacks the background of urban education and knowledge that gives advantage in many general types of jobs. While hourly or daily wage costs would be low, they are also low in many other areas which have other advantages."[10]

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10. E.E. Hagen and Louis Schaw, The Sioux on the Reservations, Cambridge, Mass., Mass. Institute of Technology, 1960, p. 5-11, 5-12.

In spite of the above disadvantages, we feel that an all-out effort should be made to attract suitable enterprises to the Reservation which need not necessarily be industries.

Following are a few suggestions for ways of creating permanent employment opportunities and increase the economic resources of the Reservation:

1. The establishment of several types of enterprises employing a fairly sizable labor force. These might include:

   a. Some type of military base. As the warrior role is still valued by a large portion of Sioux, a military type of activity would appeal to many of the men. They could be trained in some special phase of warfare or rescue work and they, in turn, would serve as instructors for trainees. The training base would be located here so that separation from the Reservation and the family would not be necessary. These Sioux would form an elite corps which would grant them status as well as provide a challenging occupation. A military base would also provide numerous civilian jobs.

   b. Expansion of the forest fighting activities of the Sioux to perhaps include other types of fire fighting and training of fire fighters. This would necessitate having planes available so that the fire fighters could be flown out when emergency fires require their skills. The Sioux fire fighters already have accrued prestige, but the work is now too sporadic to provide sufficient income to support a family or even an individual. Increasing the use of the Sioux in this activity would make it more remunerative. Also the fact that the employment is part-time in nature, high paying and dangerous and allows for a change of scenery would have an appeal for some men.

    c. Establishment of a data processing plant. A major government agency of private company such as an insurance company could place their data processing headquarters here. This type of enterprise does not involve great problems in shipping and electrical power is available. The Oglalas could be trained in data processing techniques off the Reservation and/or on the job. Also, data processing offers opportunities for advancement and gaining status.

2. Increase tourism. As Indians have a fascination for many people and as the Reservation is located in a marginal tourist area, a great deal could be done to attract more tourists to Pine Ridge. This would not only liven up the Reservation, but would be fun for Indians and tourists alike and also help to maintain pride and interest in Sioux culture. To lure tourists to the Reservation would require that a tourist compound be set up in one of the more scenic sections of the Reservation. The tourist compound could include the following facilities:

    a. An atmosphere type motel of rustic style and decorated by local Sioux artists.

    b. A restaurant also decorated with Indian motifs and featuring typical Indian dishes along with a regular menu.

    c. Nightly programs during the tourist season featuring Indian singing and dancing by various Oglala musical groups.

    d. An arts and crafts shop selling genuine Indian handicrafts, i.e., beadwork, quilts, etc., and paintings by local Indian artists. This could be an outlet for a crafts' cooperative which would provide Indian craftsmen with higher profits for their work.

    e. The establishment of an Indian managed dude ranch. Horsemanship is still a highly valued skill so there should be no problem in staffing the ranch with persons qualified to teach riding and care for horses.

3. Annexation of the Badlands National Monument to the Reservation. The Oglalas would make excellent rangers and guides for the Park. Any revenue from the Park would go to the Tribe.

4. The establishment of small businesses. At the present time due to the scarcity of commercial enterprises on the Reservation, an enormous amount of capital flows off the Reservation to the border towns and to Rapid City. Some small businesses needed are: used car dealer, auto repair shop, a movie theater, bowling alley, appliance store that provides repair service, hardware, clothing stores, slaughter house, etc. To make a success of small business, the Oglalas would need training in business management, capital to initiate the business and the cooperation of the Tribal Council in leasing land.

5. Increase in ranching operations. This would necessitate a greater consolidation of landholdings and increase in landholdings through purchase of fee patent land owned now by Non-Indians.

CHAPTER V

FORMAL EDUCATION

Introduction

> In order to insure the civilization of the Indians entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted, especially if much of them are or may be settled on said agricultural reservations, and they pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years to attend school, a house shall be provided and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished, who will reside among the Indians and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher.
> (Article 7, Sioux Treaty of 1886)*

Even before the signing of the above treaty, the blessings of education had already been visited on the none too enthusiastic Oglalas. The exact date of the opening of the first school is not known, but we do know that the cornerstone for an agency schoolhouse was laid in 1879, shortly after the establishment of the Pine Ridge Reservation.[1] By 1883, there were six day schools on the Reservation.

In 1881 (?),[2] one of McGillycuddy's fondest dreams came true - the completion of the boarding school in Pine Ridge village. All was in readiness for the opening, including the installation of metal bathtubs with hot and cold water. The children had been brought in from the districts and a group of New England school teachers were eagerly waiting to bring the fruits of civilization to their young charges. The Indian parents had gathered apprehensively outside of the school building on that memorable first day of school.

Mrs. McGillycuddy describes the events:

> "In each bathroom a teacher armed with shears was prepared to begin operations. Curious peepers stood close to the windows on the ground floor, deeply regretful of the drawn shades which barred their observation of the activities carried on behind them."

The first victim was about to have his braid cut off when fate intervened in the form of a breeze which blew back the shade. The horror stricken Indians outside spread the word

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[1] See James C. Olson, Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem, p. 265.

[2] There is some disagreement over the date of the opening of the boarding school, Hyde claims it was in 1884.

*See Errata, p. 184

> "'They are cutting the hair.' No warning or fire or flood or tornado or hurricane, not even the approach of an enemy could have more effectively emptied the building..... Through doors and windows the children flew..... followed by mobs of bucks and squaws as though all were pursued by a bad spirit. They had been suspicious of the school from the beginning; now they knew it was intended to bring disgrace upon them."[3]

To cut a boy's scalplock was to destroy his honor.

By promises and persuasion some of the children were later lured back to school, among them was the young daughter of Red Cloud. This particular pupil's school days, however, were cut short when Red Cloud visited the school and found her in the demeaning task of scrubbing floors. She was immediately removed by her irate father. A few of the teachers either frightened or discouraged soon left the school. The principal, Emma Sickles, decided that running a boarding house in Nebraska was easier than teaching school in Pine Ridge.

The government school system expanded rapidly so that by 1894 there were 25 day schools and in 1911 there were 29 day schools as well as the boarding school in Pine Ridge. Often the communities in which the schools were located took the school number as a name. Even though many of these schools are no longer in existence, some residents still refer to their community by the school number, i.e., Payabya community is more commonly called Number Four.

In 1888, the Drexel Mission (now Holy Rosary) 5 miles north of Pine Ridge village, opened a grammar school. Money for the founding of the Mission had been donated by Katherine Drexel, a Philadelphia heiress. The coming of the Jesuits to the Reservation was largely due to the effort of Red Cloud who had petitioned Washington for the admittance of "the Black Robes" to Pine Ridge. The first teachers were German Jesuit refugees who had been expelled under Bismark, and Dutch and German nuns. The Holy Rosary Mission school was also a boarding school for elementary school pupils but was later expanded to 12 grades in the late 1930's.

To accomodate mainly White children, a system of public schools was established in the early part of this century: in

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3. Julia McGillycuddy, McGillycuddy Agent, p. 205-208.

1912 or 1913 in Bennett County and 1917 in Washabaugh County. In 1918, the first school board met in Shannon County and three public schools were founded in Brennan (now Denby), Pine Ridge and near Batesland. At first the Pine Ridge school operated in a borrowed room, but in 1926 a school building of two rooms was completed.[4]

A few Oglala children were sent to the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. The rationale behind uprooting the children was that through separation from parental influence and their Indian environment the Indian children could be turned into model American citizens. The Indians rightly viewed this as a plot to rob their children of their Indian identity. The trauma to the returning Indian youth is vividly illustrated by two incidents recorded in McGillycuddy: Agent. After being replaced as agent, McGillycuddy visited Pine Ridge at the time of the Battle of Wounded Knee. As he left the

> "improvised hospital one evening at twilight, he met in the churchyard an Indian woman whose blanket held a papoose against her back. She was unkempt; utter hopelessness was in her eyes. She spoke perfect English saying, 'Don't you know me, Doctor.' McGillycuddy's eyes questioned. 'I'm Maggie Stands Looking.'
>
> 'Maggie!' the Doctor exclaimed. 'You, a blanket Indian, after your training at Carlisle and your service at the boarding school.'
>
> 'Oh, don't remind me, Doctor,' Maggie pleaded. 'I lost my job at the school when you left. I couldn't get another job. I was no longer one of my own people. I married an Indian so I might have a place among them."[5]

Another incident involved the killing of a Lieutenant Casey by an Indian named Plenty Horses.

> "Plenty Horses frankly admitted the killing of the officer and said: 'I'm an Indian. Five years I attended Carlisle and was educated in the ways of the White man. When I returned to my people I was an outcast among them. I was no longer an Indian. I was not a White man. I was lonely. I shot the lieutenant so I might make a place for myself among my people. Now I am one of them.... I shall be hung and the Indians will bury me as a warrior. They will be proud of me. I am satisfied.'"

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[4] Raliegh Barker, "First Public Schools in Shannon County" in Reservation Round-up, p. 50-52.

[5] McGillycuddy, op.cit., p. 270.

Because a state of war existed at the time of the killing and the officer was acting as a spy, Plenty Horses was acquitted and "returned to his people - a hero."[6]

Present Day Schools

Three separate school systems are in operation on the Pine Ridge Reservation: the Federal Government schools of the B.I.A., the public schools maintained by the counties and the parochial system of the Roman Catholic Church. Due to a consolidation of the school system, the number of district schools maintained by the B.I.A. has been reduced from twenty-nine to six grammar schools. As well as these centralized rural schools, the B.I.A. operates the Oglala Community School (OCS) a day and boarding school of twelve grades, located in Pine Ridge village.

The public school system now maintains sixteen grammar schools and one high school, Bennett County High School located in Martin on the eastern side of the Reservation. The majority of pupils in the public schools are Non-Indians.

Besides the day and boarding school of twelve grades at Holy Rosary Mission, the Catholic Church also operates a grammar school (Our Lady of Lourdes) in Porcupine community.

The Reservation thus has a total of twenty-six grammar schools and three high schools with a total enrollment of approximately 4400 Indian and White children and 227 teachers. Following is a table listing all of the schools plus information regarding enrollment, personnel, number of grades, etc.

Besides the regular schools, there are ten Head Start Schools serving nine communities. Adult education courses are now being offered in communities under the sponsorship of the Neighborhood Youth Corps as part of the OEO program and the Shannon County Public School System. The Shannon County schools operate nine adult education programs on the Reservation. At the present time the 250 adults in attendance are taking basic academic subjects such as English, mathematics, social science, etc. Also, through the Extension Division of Black Hills State College, a few college courses are being taught in Pine Ridge village.

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6. Ibid., p. 272.

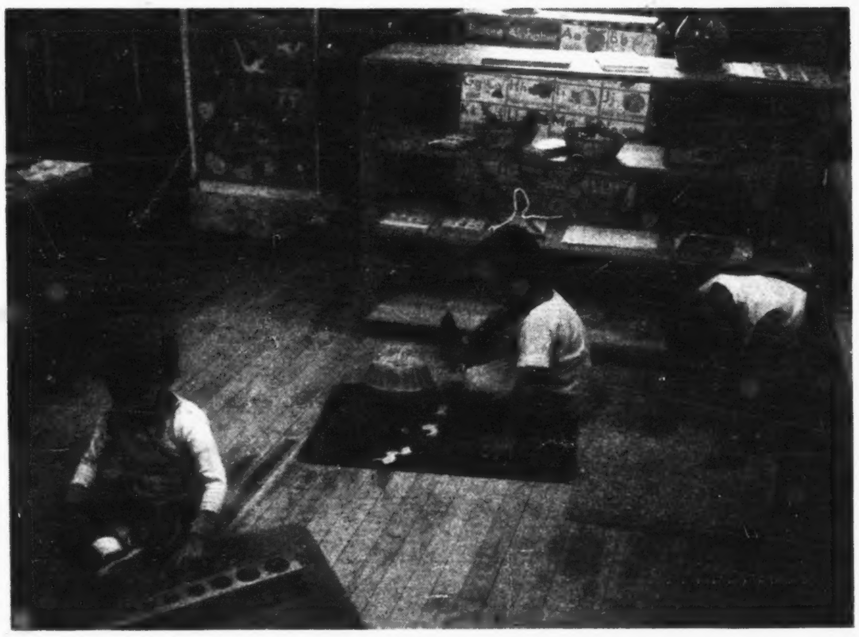
TABLE 1

SCHOOL	LOCATION	TYPE	CLASS-ROOMS	STUDENTS	TEACHERS		GRADES
Pine Ridge Public	Shannon Co. Pine Ridge, S.D.	Village-County	18	350	24	80% Ind.	Kindergarten-8th Library
Batesland Public	Shannon Co. Batesland, S.D	Village-County	12	139	12	75% Ind.	Kindergarten-8th Library
Rockyford Public	Shannon Co. Rockyford Area	Rural-County	4	49	3	50% Ind. (Less than 1/4 Ind.)	1 - 8th
Red Shirt Public	Shannon Co. Red Shirt village	Village-County	2	28	2	Predominately Indian	1 - 8th Headstart School
Bennett County High	Bennett County Martin, S. D.	Common School Dist. County	10	237	16	Predominately Non-Ind.	9 - 12th
Martin Grade School	Bennett County Martin, S. D.	Common School Dist. County	17	434	21	25% Ind.	Kindergarten-8th Library
Tuthill Public	Common School Dist. No. 6 Bennett County	Rural-County	3	33	3	Predominately Non-Ind.	1 - 8th
Central School	Common School Dist. No. 3 Bennett County	Rural-County	5	81	6	Predominately Non-Ind.	1 - 8th
England School	Common School Dist. No. 7 Bennett County	Rural-County	2	21	2	Predominately Non-Ind.	1 - 8th

SCHOOL	LOCATION	TYPE	CLASS-ROOMS	STUDENTS	TEACHERS		GRADES
Harrington School	Common School Dist. No. 7 Bennett County	Rural-County	1	10	1	Predominately Non-Ind.	1 - 8th
Pleasant Valley School	Common School Dist. No. 8 Bennett County	Rural-County	2	21	2	Predominately Non-Ind.	1 - 8th
Wanblee School	Washabaugh Co. Wanblee, S. D.	Village-County	2	19	2	Predominately Non-Ind.	1 - 8th
Garner School	Washabaugh Co.	Rural-County	2	12	2	Predominately Non-Ind.	1 - 8th
Green Valley School	Washabaugh Co.	Rural-County	2	17	2	Predominately Non-Ind.	1 - 8th
Harding School	Washabaugh Co.	Rural-County	2	30	2	Predominately Non-Ind.	1 - 8th
Plainview School	Washabaugh Co.	Rural-County	2	23	2	Predominately Non-Ind.	1 - 8th
Pleasant Hill School	Washabaugh Co.	Rural-County	1	3	1	Predominately Non-Ind.	1 - 8th

SCHOOL	LOCATION	TYPE	CLASS-ROOMS	STUDENTS	TEACHERS		GRADES
Holy Rosary Mission	Shannon Co. North-Pine Ridge, S. D.	Rural Parochial Catholic	20	530	24	100% Ind.	Boarding-Day Student, 1-12th Headstart
Our Lady of Lourdes	Shannon Co. Porcupine, S.D.	Village Parochial Catholic	4	90	4	Predominately Ind.	1 - 8th
Oglala Community School Elementary	Shannon Co. Pine Ridge, S.D.	Village B.I.A.	21	560	22	100% Ind.	Boarding-Day Student, Beginners-8th Library
Oglala Community School Secondary	Shannon Co. Pine Ridge, S.D.	Village B.I.A.	24	410	22	17% Non-Ind.	Boarding-Day Student 9 - 12th
American Horse Day School	Bennett Co. Allen, S. D.	Village B.I.A.	6	117	6	3% Non-Ind.	1 - 8th
Loneman Day School	Shannon Co. Oglala, S.D.	Rural B.I.A.	10	272	10	5% Non-Ind.	Kindergarten-8th
Manderson Day School	Shannon Co. Manderson, S.D.	Village B.I.A.	10	220	9	4% Non-Ind.	Kindergarten-8th
Little Wound Day School	Shannon Co. Kyle, S. D.	Village B.I.A.	11	310	11	30% Non-Ind.	Kindergarten-8th
Porcupine Day School	Shannon Co. Porcupine, S.D.	Village B.I.A.	8	204	8	1% Non-Ind.	1 - 8th

SCHOOL	LOCATION	TYPE	CLASS-ROOMS	STUDENTS	TEACHERS		GRADES
Wanblee Day School	Washabaugh Co. Wanblee, S. D.	Village B.I.A.	7	175	7	100% Ind.	1 - 8th
Seventh Day Adventist School	Shannon Co. Pine Ridge, S.D.	Rural Parochial	1	10	1	Indian	1 - 8th



Above - the 10th grade science class at Oglala Community School.
Below - children in the Montessori class at Holy Rosary Mission School.

Some Indian children are sent to parochial or B.I.A. boarding schools off the Reservation. Among the parochial schools attended are St. Francis Mission on the Rosebud Reservation (a Catholic school) and Brainerd Indian School at Hot Springs, South Dakota (a Wesleyan Methodist school). Oglala students also attend the B.I.A. schools at Pierre and Flandreau in South Dakota, Wahpeton in North Dakota, Haskell Institute in Kansas and the Sante Fe Indian Art School in New Mexico.

The colleges most frequently attended by Pine Ridge Indians are Black Hills State College in Spearfish, South Dakota and Chadron State College in Chadron, Nebraska. Among other colleges attended, are the following, all located in South Dakota: School of Mines (Rapid City), Northern State (Aberdeen), Southern State (Springfield), South Dakota State (Brookings) and the University of South Dakota (Vermillion).

A fairly large percentage of dropouts and high school graduates have been trained in vocational schools, 24% of the Indian men and 15% of Indian women (sample population). The sad fact is that the majority of these who have received vocational or college training are not using their training; being either unemployed or not working at jobs for which they were trained (75% of the males and 58% of the females). This is more true for men and points out the lack of skilled employment for men on the Reservation. Women who have been trained as clerk-typists or nurses generally find ready employment with the government. The men, however, lack employment sources for their special skills and this contributes to the weakening of the male role in the Indian family and society.

Educational Levels

How does the educational level of the Pine Ridge Indians compare with the Whites on the Reservation and with the general U.S. White and Negro populations? To answer this, we have made up the following table:

TABLE 2
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF RESERVATION POPULATION AS COMPARED TO U.S. WHITE AND NEGRO POPULATIONS

Persons 25 years and over
Percentage Distribution

Years of School Completed	Reservation Population Indian	Reservation Population White	U.S. Population Negro	U.S. Population White
8th grade or less	56%	28%	50%	31%
1-3 years of high school	25%	15%	22%	18%
4 years of high school	15%	31%	18%	32%
1-3 years of college	3%	11%	5%	9%
4 or more years of college	1%	15%	5%	10%

As we can see, over half of Pine Ridge Indians have a grammar school education or less and only 19% have completed high school. The general educational level falls way below their White neighbors and the White and Negro populations of the U.S. Also of interest is the high educational level of Reservation Whites, 15% of them are college graduates compared to 10% of the U.S. Whites.

An even better measure of overall educational levels is the median number of years of school completed, that is the number of years of school completed above and below which 50% of the population falls. For the Pine Ridge Indian, it is 8.7 years as compared to 12.2 years among Reservation Whites, 9.0 years among U.S. Negroes and 12.0 years among U.S. Whites. Just taking the Indian population, the females have a slightly higher level of education (8.8 years) than males (8.7 years). The difference between Mixed Bloods and Full Bloods is, however, more striking. The median educational level of Mixed Bloods is 9.9 years (higher than that of U.S. Negroes) as compared to 8.2 years among Full Bloods.

We know, however, that the educational level is increasing among the Oglalas. In the 65-69 year age group, 4.5% of the Mixed Bloods and 2.3% of the Full Bloods have a high school education or more and this compares to 41% of the Mixed Bloods and 21% of the Full Bloods in the 25-29 year age group.

Underachievement and Dropouts

Over one fourth (27%) of the Indian students are overage for their grade, that is at least two years older than the normal age for the grade they are attending. This compares to an overage rate of 18% among Indian students in Arizona.[7] There are several reasons for this high rate of overage for grade in Pine Ridge: later enrollment in school; the geographical mobility of some families making it necessary for children to change schools often; and absenteeism due to sickness, family trips and disinterest on the part of the parents and children. Also some children are not prepared for school, making for a longer period of adjustment so that early grades must be repeated. The latter cause is being remedied somewhat through the efforts of Head Start schools. At the present time, 14% of the first graders are overage for their grade in comparison to 44% of the 12th graders.

A cause for concern among Pine Ridge educators is the rate of underachievement, especially in the upper grades. An interesting pattern called the crossover phenomenon, has been noted among Indian students. From the fourth through the sixth grades, the scores of Oglala children on the California Achievement test exceed the national norms. From the seventh grade on, the scores fall below the national norms.[8]

Another problem facing the schools is the high percentage of Indian students who drop out before completing high school. Taking persons 25 years and older, 81% have left school before completing high school. Among those Indians who completed eighth grade, 71% are dropouts. The highest dropout peak is found between eighth and ninth grade, that is the child leaves school after completing eighth grade or some time during ninth grade.[9] Among eighth grade graduates, 34% drop out before entering or completing the ninth grade. Comparable dropout rates for the other grades are: 10th grade - 15%, 11th grade - 14%, and 12th grade - 8%.

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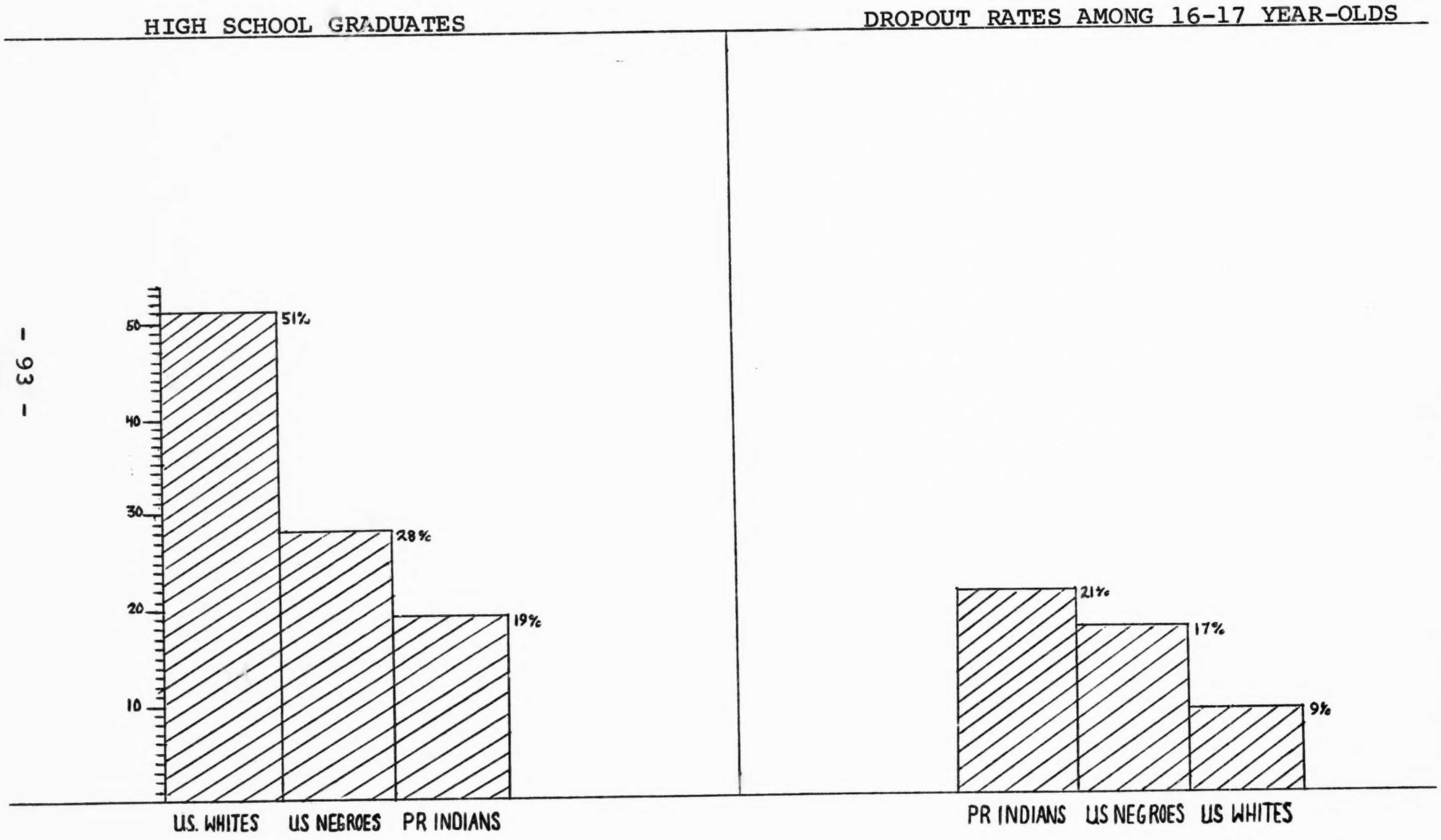
7. William Kelly, A Study of Southern Arizona School-Age Children.

8. See John Bryde, The Sioux Indian Student, p. 49-50.

9. According to Tribal law, an Indian child must remain in school until he is 16 years old or has completed 8th grade. This was changed by the Tribal Council to 18 years or completion of high school, but the new law has not yet been put into effect.

RATE OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES (25 Years and Over) AND DROPOUT RATE (16 and 17 Year-Olds) AMONG PINE RIDGE INDIANS AS COMPARED TO U.S. WHITE AND NEGRO POPULATIONS



HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES

DROPOUT RATES AMONG 16-17 YEAR-OLDS

As we are more interested in the present dropout rate, let us look at the percentage of dropouts among Indians 16 and 17 years of age and compare the rate with the U.S. White and Negro populations. 9% of the Whites and 17% of the Negroes in the 16-17 age group are dropouts, that is they are no longer enrolled in school and have not completed high school. The rate among the Pine Ridge Indians is 21%, 16% of the Mixed Bloods and 25% of the Full Bloods. The dropout here is over twice that for Whites and higher than among Negroes. No wonder the educators are concerned.

Efforts are being made by the school systems and the Office of Economic Opportunity through its NYC Program to reduce the dropout rates. Dropouts are being encouraged to return to high school or to attend the adult education classes which prepare students to pass the G.E.D. examinations for a high school equivalency diploma.

Factors Contributing to Lack of Motivation in Scholastic Achievement

Since the Oglalas settled at Pine Ridge, it has been the contention of many policy makers that education is the panacea for the socio-economic ills besetting the society and the means for bringing Indians into the mainstream of American life. Education has been available to the Oglalas for 89 years and the problems remain almost as unresolved as they were that day in 1879 when Red Cloud helped to lay the cornerstone for the first school. For this (and other reasons), the educational system has often become the scapegoat among those impatient for greater progress. Blame has been placed on the schools for many of the social evils, personality disorders and general cultural malaise. But is it fair to expect the schools to conteract all of the negative aspects of the total socio-economic milieu? Is it realistic to expect the educational system alone to achieve a better life for the Oglalas when the environment offers few alternative economic goals and little opportunity to control one's destiny; when many children come from poverty-stricken and unstable family situations? True, the schools have failed in some respects, but the blame is not entirely theirs.

The high rate of underachievement and dropping out of school are mainly the results of a lack of motivation on the part of Indian youth. We would like to explore some of the factors which contribute to a lack of motivation to learn and to achieve a higher educational level. It is not that Oglala youth do not value education. They do. In our interviews with Indian high school students, we found them to be very much concerned about their education. All of them wanted to complete high school and 68% expressed a desire to continue their education beyond high school, but feared they would fail or drop out. As half of them were underachievers and many would drop out, their fears were justified. Their situation is one of valuing something in the abstract but not being sufficiently motivated or confident enough to achieve it.[10]

Probably most destructive to motivation are the feelings of inferiority and powerlessness of Indian youth. The Indian student begins to underachieve at an age when he begins to realize his social position and the limitations of his environment. Among high school students, there is an awareness of the negative stereotype of the Indian and a fear of conforming to the stereotype. They blame many of the problems of Indians on the Indians themselves and perceive Indians as being uneducated, lazy, drunken, etc. This negative ethnic image of Indians by Indians is destructive in the extreme because it leads to feelings of inadequacy and alienation which in turn result in underachievement and a lowering of aspirations.[11]

To offset the feelings of inferiority and powerlessness requires more than effort on the part of the schools. It requires an integrated development program which will raise economic levels, provide meaningful employment and place more power in Indian hands. The schools, however, can help by fostering leadership through giving Indian students greater responsibilities. Also, the negative ethnic image can be mitigated somewhat by the inclusion of courses in the curriculum on Indian history and culture. This is being done at the present time largely through the influence of Dr. John Bryde who has brought to the attention of educators the importance of teaching Indian culture and how Indian values can be applied to contemporary life. As an educator at Holy Rosary Mission, Dr. Bryde introduced and taught a course entitled Accultural Psychology which has remained a part of the curriculum. Also, Holy Rosary has introduced the teaching of the Lakota language to their students. The B.I.A. is also now making an effort in this direction by sending teachers to seminars which stress the necessity to teach and respect Indian culture. Acculturational Psychology is now being taught in the B.I.A. schools and a course on Indian civics has been included in this year's curriculum at the Oglala Community School in Pine Ridge village.

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[10] See Mindell and Maynard, "Ambivalence Toward Education among Indian High School Students" in Pine Ridge Research Bulletin, No. 1, pp. 26-31.

[11] See E. Maynard, "Negative Ethnic Image among Oglala Sioux High School Students" in Pine Ridge Research Bulletin, No. 6, pp. 18-25.

Also involved in underachievement is the cultural value which says that a person should not try to be better than anyone else. This leveling influence is found not only in the student's peer group but in the general society as well. The person who seeks to achieve is often flattened through the social pressures of ridicule and gossip by the envious others. For example, the Indian student who achieves high grades or answers readily in class may be taunted by his classmates to the extent of lowering his aspirations to meet those of the peer group. This type of behavior is characteristic of societies with scarce resources, when anyone who takes more than what is considered his fair share is thought to be depriving someone else of his share. This type of leveling was not a part of traditional Sioux culture. Status was accorded, and in fact flaunted, for achievement; and wealth in horses could be accumulated. However, the wealthy were expected to share their surplus goods at certain times and with people in need. Again, an increase in available alternatives and economic levels and the provision of more opportunities to gain status would help to decrease the power of the leveling influence.

Of great importance in the lack of motivation to learn is the indifference or disinterest of Indian parents in the education of their children. Some parents feel that they are obliged to turn over their children to the schools which they regard as alien institutions, completely separate from their home life. What goes on in the school is out of their hands and of no concern to them. Consequently, these parents offer little encouragement to their children to do well in school and show no interest in what they are learning.

Lack of parental involvement in the educational system is manifest in the poor attendance at PTA meetings and other academic affairs. Even more revealing is the result of a recent attempt to turn control of one of the B.I.A. schools over to the community. The residents voted down the proposition in a referendum. This was to have been an experiment in local control similar to that at the Rough Rock School among the Navaho. There the achievement levels of the children increased after the parents had become actively involved in the management of the school.

The Pine Ridge schools are attempting to increase parental interest through requiring parents to come in person to receive reports of their children's grades and progress. Also the schools are having more social affairs in which parents are invited to participate. The schools, however, could do more by fostering and increasing responsibilities of Indian school boards, by more home visiting on the part of teachers and by scheduling regular meetings between the faculty and parent groups in settings where parents gather socially.

The unstable family conditions in a number of homes also affect the child's scholastic performance. Among the student population, 40% are living in households in which one or both parents are missing. One out of ten Indian students is living with neither parent. We know that this is a significant factor in being overage for one's grade as a higher percentage of children living in households without a parent or parents were overage for their grade than children living with both parents. The fact of parental absence often means not only a lack of emotional and economic security, but also that many times the child is shunted about among relatives making for continual readjustment. In some cases, these children are simply left at the boarding school. (Incidentally the boarding schools are often used as detention homes or places to keep unwanted children. The school personnel must then act as substitute parents to disturbed children. The problem is that there is neither sufficient dormitory personnel to do this effectively nor are there enough guidance counsellors to supervise and aid the dormitory personnel.) Also, in an unstable family situation, the child may be witness to domestic quarrels which leave him emotionally upset and unable to concentrate in school. Occasionally as a result of a major family fracas, the child seeks refuge in the home of a relative or friend and may absent himself from school until family conditions return to normal.

Another way in which the family may hamper a child's educational aspirations has to do with the Indian's dependency relationship to his family and to the Reservation. The Indian student who desires to further his education beyond high school must leave the Reservation. The idea of separation is often a fearful one for both the child and the parents. The Indian youth is afraid of facing an alien world for which he feels ill-prepared and his attachment to his family makes it all the more difficult. The parents may view his going away to school as a threat to their relationship to the child and to his Indian identity. The Indian who leaves to continue his education may thus be made to feel guilty and may even be blamed for any misfortune which may befall his family during his absence.

The schools have contributed to underachievement by not maintaining high expectations of performance from the Indian child. As we know, a person often performs according to what is expected of him. There is an inclination to lower standards for Indian children because of their environmental conditions and in hopes of keeping them in school by not demanding too much from them. This lessens the challenge of school for the Indian children and makes it difficult for them to compete in institutions of higher learning. And the child is aware of the inferiority of his education and this makes him all the more reluctant to compete with Whites in jobs as well as in school. It also makes him more reticent to express his opinions and to be an active participant in intergroup situations.[12]

The schools with Indian children require proficient and dedicated teachers who can in some way provide encouragement and instill confidence in their pupils. There are teachers of that caliber here, but more are needed. Unfortunately teachers salaries are low in South Dakota and the Reservation does not have the attractions of an urban center. However, the government and school authorities should provide the necessary incentives and at the same time take advantage in recruitment of the growing interest in minority groups among college students. Sharing in teacher recruitment should also be the Indian people who should demand the highest qualified teachers whether they be Indian or Non-Indian, and who furthermore should make the teachers welcome and an integral part of the community.

In conclusion, we would like to say this to the Indian people: your children are underachieving and dropping out of school at an alarming rate. These young people will now feel inadequate and have a difficult time in obtaining worthwhile employment. The result will be that they will be caught up in the hopeless cycle of underemployment, heavy drinking, time spent in jail and the formation of unstable families. Their children will in turn repeat the cycle. Furthermore, these young people represent human resources which are being lost to the Indian society. It is up to you the parents to demand a voice in the education of your children and to take a more active interest and encourage your children in their school work. Indian children have the same curiosity and the same ability to learn as other children, but these innate qualities are being stifled partly because of your indifference. The schools alone cannot give your children the excellent education which is their right unless you the parents become involved.

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[12] See discussion of the "vacuum ideology" in Pine Ridge schools in Wax, M., et al, "Formal Education an an American Indian Community." Also see deMontigny, L., "Attitude of Low Expectancy" in Pine Ridge Research Bulletin, no. 9, p.31-34.

To the educators we would like to say: understand and respect your Indian students and show greater interest in Indian culture. Demand high performances from your students. Through giving them a good education, you will help provide them with more alternatives - with a chance to be successful if they wish to leave the Reservation or the chance to be contributing members of their society if they choose to remain on the Reservation. The Indian student due to his present socio-economic environment needs a great deal of guidance and encouragement from you. Become more involved in the community. In this way you will become more aware of the problems facing the Indians and the familial situations of your students. This will make it possible for you, the teachers, to be able to better resolve classroom problems, use more realistic examples in teaching, and discuss more intelligently with your students their problems and needs and those of the Indian society.

CHAPTER VI

HEALTH AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

Traditional Medicine and Practitioners[1]

Sicknesses were attributed by the Sioux to evil spirits who caused foreign objects, such as worms, to enter the body or in some other way brought about various maladies. It was also believed that sicknesses were punishments visited upon the individual for breaking taboos or transgressing the moral code. Occasionally a shaman could cause illness through the use of black magic.

Some examples of specific causes of sicknesses or physical afflictions were: frostbite - Waziya (Old Man of the North) blows on one and the flesh he touches turns cold and dies; diseases of the skin and genitals - contact with menstrual blood (menstrual blood was also considered a powerful love potion); spasms - worms squeezing the flesh, having entered the body through the influence of evil spirits; fever - spirit fires burning near a sick person; warts - stealing; and peeling of the palate - telling lies.

The medical specialists of the Sioux were the shamans, Dreamers and herbalists. The usual procedure when sick was to call in a shaman who would diagnose the sickness and either treat it himself or refer the patient to a specialist. The Dreamers usually specialized in one cure, i.e., Bear Dreamers were experts in bone setting. To rise in the hierarchy required having received visions granting one supernatural power in curing or purchasing an object with a special power or the right to use a certain herb. An herbalist could become a Dreamer upon securing a vision. A Dreamer could rise to the status of shaman or holy man (Wichasha Wakan) through participating in the fourth and most tortuous form of the Sun Dance.

The role of shaman was an important one in Sioux culture and encompassed not only that of curer, but also diviner, protector of the tribe's security through propitiation of supernatural forces, leader in the carrying out of rituals and custodian of sacred lore.

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[1] The information in this section was taken mainly from Royal B. Hassrick, The Sioux Life and Customs of a Warrior Society, p. 246-253, and J.R. Walker, The Sun Dance..... p. 162-163.

Cures were affected through first purifying oneself and one's environment from evil forces by the use of the sweat bath and the burning of sage. An altar was set up in the house of the patient and there the shaman would sing the appropriate songs (accompanied by drumming and rattling) and touching the patient with his washichun (sacred object imbued with supernatural power). Herbs were also given the patient. As the performance continued, the "intensity increased so that the shaman himself often reached a frenzied trance and ended the ceremony in a dramatic crescendo".[2] This was intended to drive out the evil spirits and produced relief to the patient by "providing a shocklike therapy."

Sometimes the medicine man sucked the evil object from the patient with his mouth or used a bone tube. For example, snow blindness was cured by sucking out dry grass from the corners of the eyes and spitting it out as proof that the evil had been dislodged.

Herbs were given internally or used as poultices. Some examples of the herbology were: verbena was used to cure stomach-aches, hops or horsemint for abdominal pains, and calamus for toothaches. Bleeding the patient and using purgatives were also common cures for some ailments.

Medicine Men and Native Cures Today

The shaman is no longer accorded the high prestige that he enjoyed in traditional Sioux culture, but he still holds an important position in the Full Blood society. Although only 12% of the Indians in our Baseline Study indicated that they sought the advice of medicine men, we believe that a higher percentage in actuality consult native practitioners. It is true that faith has been lost in the shamans and Indian medicine through education and because of the attitude that since most sicknesses were disseminated by the White man or are the result of changes in living conditions brought about by the incursion of White customs, White doctors and medicine will be more effective in curing them.[3]

Today, there are still herbalists who dispense herbs and give advice on their use. Most shamans on the Reservation are yuwipi men, that is they contact the spirits while "all tied-up". A yuwipi man may be consulted individually or a family may request a ceremony in their home to which others may attend. There are various motives for sponsoring a yuwipi ceremony, but the most frequent one is for the purpose of curing a family member. Interested parties who also desire a cure or are worried about the health or safety of a relative may also attend the meeting and are expected to contribute tobacco offerings and food.

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[2] Hassrick, p. 250.

[3] See Luis Kemnitzer, "White Man's Medicine, Indian Medicine and Indian Identity on the Pine Ridge Reservation" in Pine Ridge Research Bulletin, No. 8.

Before the meeting, the yuwipi man and his assistants set up the sacred area within a room of the host's house. This involves the placing of the yuwipi man's paraphernalia (gopher dirt, flags, eagle feathers, etc.) and the tobacco offerings made up into tiny pouches. The participants sit around, but outside of the sacred area, the men are on one side and the women on the other. The yuwipi man is then wrapped up in a robe and securely tied-up by his helpers. All lights go out and the room is in pitch darkness. The shaman acts as a medium to the spirit world and in Lakota he invokes the spirits, (tunkashila). A dramatic moment is the appearance of the spirits whose arrival is heralded by whistling followed by sparks flying in the darkness. After the appropriate song, the host followed by other participants address the spirits, telling of their problems. The spirits answer through the medicine man whose voice sounds muffled and far away. Then comes the doctoring by the spirits who touch the patient lightly with rawhide rattles.

When the lights come one, the yuwipi man stands in the middle of the sacred area, completely untied. Following the circulation of the sacred pipe around the circle of participants, a feast which often includes dog meat is served.[4]

The efficacy of the medicine men cannot be discounted, especially as regards the psychological effects. For this reason, the Indian Health Service should give consideration to working more in cooperation with the medicine men and allow yuwipi ceremonies in the hospital in cases in which the patient desires it.

Another source for cures is the Native American Church or Peyote Cult. Peyote, an hallucinogen, which forms the basis of the cult comes from the peyote plant, a spineless cactuc indigenous to Mexico and the southwestern U.S. The plant contains a number of alkaloids including mescaline (which produces visions) and its use is said to be neither addictive nor physically harmful.

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[4] For more detailed information on the yuwipi ceremony see: Luis Kemnitzer, "Yuwipi" in Pine Ridge Research Bulletin, no. 10.

At the meetings, sicknesses of the members are discussed so that one achieves a kind of catharsis in communion with others. Peyote in itself is considered a powerful medicine capable of curing most ailments. As well as taken internally, peyote is also applied externally to heal sores or prevent blood poisoning.[5]

The Public Health Service and Other Sources of Medical Aid

After Indian-White contact, diseases were introduced to which Indians had little or no immunity. Epidemics of smallpox and cholera decimated the Indian population. Certain years in the winter counts were named for the terrible sickness (smallpox).[6] Diseases such as measles and mumps also often proved to be serious and even fatal because of a lack of immunity and ignorance of treatment of the new maladies. Also contributing to a decline in health were changes in nutrition and housing occasioned by the introduction of alien customs. A diet based largely on meat and plant foods was altered to include a greater consumption of carbohydrates and canned and prepared foods, etc. The movable tipi was replaced by log or frame houses which were less easily maintained in a sanitary condition.

From the beginning of the reservation system, however, the government was interested in the health of Indians. We find that physicians and dispensaries formed a part of BIA services from the beginning. One of the first physicians stationed at Pine Ridge was a Dr. Charles Eastman, a Full Blood Sioux, who was here during McGillycuddy's regime and later treated the wounded after the Battle of Wounded Knee. When the BIA farm districts were established, a physician often formed part of the staff and lived out in his assigned district. Also each district had a resident nurse. The role of physician was occasionally combined with another role such as agent or school principal.

In 1930, the BIA opened a hospital on the north ridge of Pine Ridge village. This forms the west wing of the present PHS Hospital. In 1955, the U.S. Public Health Service was given the responsibility for the health of Indians and a new branch created for this purpose was called the Division of Indian Health (now the Indian Health Service). An addition to the hospital was completed in 1959 at a cost of $700,000.

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5. For more information on peyote see: Stephen Feraca, "Peyotism" in Pine Ridge Research Bulletin, no. 10.
6. Winter counts - pictorial records of a year's events. The smallpox years were 1818, 1845, and 1850.

Today PHS continues to operate the fully accredited 58 bed hospital in Pine Ridge village as part of its Pine Ridge Service Unit. At the present time the hospital staff has seven physicians, three dentists and a nursing staff of 34. Total admissions in 1968 (fiscal year) were 1,765. In the period from 1961-1968, admissions reached their maximum peak in 1963 with 2,163 admissions. Since that time there has been a decline due to a number of factors including the fact that surgical cases are now being sent to other hospitals; improvements in medicine, making it less necessary to hospitalize patients; greater use of outpatient clinics which may prevent more serious sicknesses, etc. Although facilities for performing surgery are available, the hospital lacks the required staff. In consequence, surgical cases must be referred to contract hospitals.

The hospital also maintains an outpatient clinic on weekday afternoons and emergency services 24 hours a day. In contrast to hospital admissions, outpatient visits, have been increasing. In a six year period (from 1963-1968) outpatient visits have increased almost 20%. In fiscal year 1968, there were 30,354 outpatient visits or an average daily patient load of 83 persons. The average patient load during regular clinic hours is approximately 110 persons per clinic.

Besides the hospital and clinic, PHS maintains clinics in the districts. Only the community of Wanblee has a daily clinic with a physician and nurse, both of whom reside in Wanblee. Three other communities - Kyle, Manderson and Allen hold clinics one day a week or one day every two weeks. The district clinics are under the Field Health Department of the PHS Pine Ridge Service Unit.

Field Health also provides a number of other vital services. The public health nursing staff helps in the district clinics, makes home visits, refers cases to the clinics, inoculates school children, etc. Because these nurses have greater daily contact with the Indian people in their homes and communities, they are more cognizant of the realities of Indian life than most PHS personnel. They thus, form an important link between the Indian community and PHS. The Field Health staff also includes sanitarians, a health educator and a nutritionist.

A relatively new service, the Community Mental Health Program, was inaugurated in 1965. Besides treatment of individual patients,

Patients waiting in the outpatient clinic
at the PHS Hospital in Pine Ridge village.

Mental Health personnel provide consultation to schools and other government agencies, work toward improving conditions on the Reservation which affect adversely mental health and engage in research designed to delineate major problem areas in hopes of determining some of the causes of deviant behavior. The Program publishes bimonthly the Pine Ridge Research Bulletin as a means of disseminating the results of their research and any other research being carried out on the Reservation. Mental Health is temporarily without a psychiatrist. The present staff consists of three social workers, a mental health nurse consultant, an anthropologist and four aides. The Program is a pilot project and has the distinction of being the only mental health program on a reservation level. Other mental health programs in IHS are on an area level.

Outside of PHS, the local Office of Economic Opportunity sponsors the Community Health Aide Program. The community health aides are local Indians whose major goal is to improve the physical and mental health of the Indian people. This program has been one of the most successful of the OEO endeavors. This is largely due to excellent initial training, continued high level supervision and the qualities of the aides themselves. The many duties of the aides include health education, referral of people in need to the appropriate agencies, checking the health of school children, advising the agencies of Indian problems, helping with treatment, etc. Because of their firsthand knowledge of Indian society and their frequent visits to Indian homes, the aides have become indispensable to PHS and other agency personnel as interpreters of Indian needs and as helping persons in treatment situations.

Degree of Sickness and Disability

In spite of the giant strides made in Indian Health,[7] our findings show that the rate of sickness and physical disability of the Oglalas is twice as high as their Non-Indian neighbors on the Reservation. From self-reports in our Baseline Data Study sample, 33% of the Indians in contrast to 16% of the Non-Indians said they had some kind of a health problem. When asked

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7. Statistics tabulated by the Aberdeen Area Office of IHS, show decreases in infant mortality, incidence of TB, etc., among Indians of the area served by the Aberdeen Office which includes Pine Ridge. Infant mortality decreased from 63.5 (rate per 1,000 live births) in 1955-59 to 37.4 in 1963-65. Incidence of TB decreased from 297.3 (per 100,000 population) to 236.2 in 1965-67. The average age at death increased from 42.6 years in 1958 to 47.0 years in 1964. This is still, however, far below the national average age at death - 63.6 years. The life expectancy for Indians in the Aberdeen area in 1965 was 62 years, compared to 70 years in the general U.S. population.

if they had a serious physical disability, again twice the percentage of Indians (23%) than Non-Indians (10%) reported having a disability. As one would expect the highest percentage of physical disabilities were in the older age groups; but in every age group, the percentage of Indians with a physical disability was significantly higher, in some cases two or three times higher, than among Non-Indians. For example, in the 30-39 age group, 12% of the Indians in comparison to 3.5% of the Non-Indians reported having a serious physical disability.

The highest rates of physical disability were found among males and among Full Bloods. Full Blood males had the highest rate (32%), followed by Mixed Blood males (28%), Full Blood females (20%), Mixed Blood females (15%), Non-Indian males (15%) and Non-Indian females (10%). The most common disabilities among Indians were arthritis, diabetes and heart trouble.

Each respondent was also asked if he or she had ever had a serious sickness or injury. Again the same pattern emerges among the Indians, a higher percentage of males (46%) than females (33%) and more Full Bloods (40%) than Mixed Bloods (37%) answered in the affirmative. The most common sicknesses and injuries among the Oglalas were fractures, gall bladder ailments, arthritis, diabetes, dislocations or sprains and heart trouble.[8]

When one compares the Indian and Non-Indian as regards the rate of specific sicknesses and injuries one finds that the Indian rates were higher than among Non-Indians for the following: diabetes and gunshot wounds (mostly resulting from military service) - four times higher; tuberculosis and internal injuries - three times higher; burns and eyesight defects - two times higher; lacerations, arthritis and gall bladder ailments - one and one half times higher. Among Non-Indians, cancer and appendicitis were over twice as prevalent than among Indians and the rate of heart trouble, one and one half times higher. Of about equal frequency in the two groups were fractures, dislocations, pneumonia or influenza and ulcers.

Use of Medical Facilities and Attitude Towards PHS

As we have seen, the PHS clinics and hospital are well utilized by the Oglalas. In our survey, 86% of the adults (sample population) indicated that they had used the PHS clinics and/or hospital, 90% of the women and 80% of the men. Other sources of medical consultation were private or VA physicians (45%), nurses (23%), druggists (18%) and medicine men (12%).

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[8] For more detailed information on health see Pine Ridge Research Bulletin, No. 8.

How satisfied are the Indians with PHS services? When asked about what service they had found the most helpful, 64% said they had found PHS the most helpful. Among those who had utilized both PHS facilities and private or VA facilities, 51% indicated they had found PHS to be the most helpful.

A crucial question in our section dealing with health asked the respondents how PHS could improve its services. The question was phrased to elicit recommendations for improvements and to provide the opportunity to voice dissatisfactions. In spite of this, 14% stated that they were satisfied - "It's fine the way it is," "No complaints." Following is a list of the most frequently mentioned suggestions for improvement:

TABLE 3

Ways PHS Could Improve Its Services	% of Indian Sample Population
Less waiting time in clinic	15
Better physicians	12
More clinics in district	10
More home visits	8
Larger staff	8
Better relations between staff & patients	6
More permanent staff	4
Special attention to emergency cases	4
Transportation to clinic	3
Expansion of medical care to include surgery	3
Expansion of hospital	2

The major way in which the Indian people would like PHS to improve is to shorten the waiting time at the clinic - "I get tired of sitting all day," "If you are really sick, you could lay there and die." In actuality, by the time the Indian patient sees the doctor, undergoes the required medical tests and picks up his medicine, he has spent from two to four hours in the clinic.

The next most desired improvement has to do with the recruitment of better physicians. It was obvious from remarks to the interviewers that some Indians lack confidence in the doctors, believing them to be interns and/or inexperienced - "We need some real doctors." "They need a good specialist to work with the interns." Most PHS physicians have just completed their medical training and internship and are serving their two years of military service in PHS. They are thus youthful in appearance and this does not inspire confidence, especially among Indian patients who place great store on experience and age.

Another concern of Indians is relationship between Indian patients and the PHS staff. There is some feeling that the staff is too impersonal, not understanding, impatient, etc., in dealing with Indians - "They should be kinder to Indian people, be more friendly and not think they're too good." To improve relations between PHS personnel and Indians requires greater understanding on the part of both groups. PHS could provide more orientation on Indian culture and more visiting of Indian homes on the part of new staff members. Doctors and nurses should be cognizant of such Indian values as individualism which makes it important to take a personal interest in individuals. Also, an effort could be made to give clearer instructions and explanations. On the other hand, Indians should be made more aware of problems of recruitment and budgetary limitation and do more to make government personnel feel welcome on the Reservation.

Summary and Conclusions

In spite of PHS medical service, the rate of Indian people with health problems is still high and twice as high as among Non-Indians living in the same geographical area. We believe this to be related to the total socio-economic situation which results in psychological problems; poor nutrition, housing and sanitation; and a lack of knowledge of good health practices or the lack of means to improve them. PHS alone cannot alter these conditions. Only a general development program can eliminate some of the basic causes of poor physical health.

PHS facilities are well used and found to be helpful by most Indian people. Various improvements, however, are desired by the Indians and it is up to the Oglala Sioux Health Board, meeting with PHS personnel, to consider and make suggestions and then plan the means for putting them into action.

The success of this innovation depends mainly on how much power PHS is willing to grant the Board. We talk a great deal about the necessity for Indian involvement. This is an excellent opportunity to show we mean it. The Indian people have expressed themselves and the Board should now assume the role of the change agent in relation to PHS.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
THE FAMILY

Introduction

> It would appear that the functions of the modern Dakota family are in a state of flux and uncertainty. There are greater and increasing role incompatabilities and insufficient and distorted models for the young child to emulate. The inability of the Dakota family to meet the stresses and strains of acculturation and adaptation has further crippled it would seem, the total adjustment of Dakota individuals.
>
> Bea Medicine[1]

Nowhere in contemporary Oglala culture are the signs of social disorganization more apparent than in the institution of the family. The disintegration of this most basic unit of the society has resulted in an inability to provide the security and guidance necessary to the formation of well-integrated and adjusted individuals.

The present instability of the family may be traced to a number of factors, most of which are results of the stresses occasioned by the acculturation process. Some of these factors are impoverishment due to the loss of an adequate economic base, the decline in the role of the male, the taking over of family functions by government agencies, the loss of traditional rules in the kinship system which defined behavior and obligations and the generational gap which has been intensified by the introduction of new values and mores from outside of the society.

The results of disruptions within the family structure are the loss of social controls - the family is less able to control the actions of its members, the weakening of role models for the young and the loss of emotional security. Some of the secondary consequences have been an increase in intra-family strife, drinking, delinquency and behavior problems, academic underachievement, homelessness on the part of the old and the children and child neglect and abuse.

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[1] "The Changing Dakota Family and Stresses Therein," Pine Ridge Research Bulletin, No. 9. p. 19.

In spite of weaknesses in the family, ties to family members are still strong if less dependable and the family still provides the main source of security to the individual Oglala. This means that in order to produce a more viable society, every effort should be made to strengthen and maintain the family.

Composition of the Family

Although in traditional Sioux society the extended family was predominant, the basic social unit was, as it is today, the nuclear or conjugal family consisting of parents and their children. Residence could be matrilocal or patrilocal,[2] but it was customary for a couple to live in a separate tipi, pitched within the family circle. As Hassrick points out, this arrangement was more convenient because of the prohibitions against a woman speaking to her father-in-law and a man to his mother-in-law.[3]

Today the nuclear family is increasing in importance, having taken over some of the functions of the extended family unit. Many couples now want to be more independent of their families of orientation[4] and so prefer neolocal[2] residence although economic conditions may make it impossible to establish a separate household. Among married Oglalas, 4.4% of the males and 3.5% of the females are living in a household in which a parent-in-law is household head, showing a very slight trend toward matrilocality.

The outstanding feature of the nuclear family today is the high percentage of single parent or incomplete nuclear families. Among Indian nuclear families, 71% are complete, 24% are matrifocal - composed of a woman and her children and 5% are patrifocal - composed of a man and his children. In the Non-Indian population on the Reservation, only 4.5% of the nuclear families are matrifocal and .9% patrifocal.

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[2] Matrilocal - a couple resides with the wife's family.
Patrilocal - a couple resides with the husband's family.
Neolocal - a couple resides in a separate household.

[3] Hassrick, Royal B. The Sioux, Life and Customs of a Warrior Society, p. 78.

[4] Family or orientation - family one was born into and/or raised in. Family of procreation - the family one creates through marriage and/or having children.

Why the high proportion of incomplete nuclear families among the Indians? To answer this, we must look at marital status, illegitimacy and death rates. As regards marital status, we find a high rate of divorced and separated persons. The divorce rate among women is 5.7%, two times higher than for U.S. Whites (2.8%) and higher than for U.S. Negroes (4.1%). The highest divorce rate among the Oglalas is found among the Mixed Blood women (6.1%). Roughly the same pattern holds for the Indian men: 4.6% are divorced in contrast to 2.1% of U.S. Whites and 3.1% of U.S. Negroes.

One must also consider the rate of separation. Among married Oglalas, 8.7% are separated. In this case separation is highest among Full Blood women (11%). We should, however, point out that separations are often of a temporary nature but nevertheless do reflect marital difficulties and result in emotional problems to family members.

Another cause of incomplete nuclear families is the rate of illegitimacy. Among births at the PHS Hospital in 1968, 24% were illegitimate. This is not high compared to U.S. Negroes among whom the rate is 26%, but it is six times the rate in the U.S. White population (4%). The fact that almost one quarter of the births are illegitimate is startling in a society that traditionally placed a high value on the chastity of women.

One of the clues to the high rate of illegitimacy is the high percentage of single persons under 45 years of age in the Indian population. For example, in the 25-29 year age group, 32% of the Indian males are single in comparison to 17% in the U.S. population. There seems to be some reluctance on the part of the young people to enter into marriage and this increases the likelihood of illegitimate births and thus matrifocal families. Of course, if one wants to go back to primary causes, one can say that this manifestation of social disorganization is caused by the acculturation situation which has resulted in loss of social controls and in economic impoverishment.

Also contributing to the formation of incomplete nuclear families is the greater likelihood of being widowed at an earlier age because of high sickness and accident rates. For example, in the 25-29 year age group, 2.2% of the Indian women are widowed as compared to .8% in the U.S. population and .8% of the Indian men compared to .1% of the U.S. males.

The instability of the nuclear unit means that a high percentage of children under sixteen years of age (36%) are living with only one parent or neither parent. The negative effects of lack of one or both parents on the child are enormous and will discussed in the concluding chapter.

Composition of the Households

In traditional Sioux culture, each individual had the security of belonging to the tiyoshpaye - a group of families usually related who banded together under one leader for the purpose of hunting and warring. Descent was reckoned bilaterally but a person's primary affiliation could be either with the mother's or father's extended family group and this usually depended on one's residence.

Today even though the extended family no longer forms as cohesive and large a group as the tiyoshpaye, it is still a vital unit in the social organization. At the present time, 39% of the Indian households are composed of multiple nuclear families and/or have extra relatives. This is in contrast to 8% of Non-Indian households. The extended family household is more common among Full Bloods than Mixed Bloods: 46% of households with a Full Blood head are of this type and 31% of households with a Mixed Blood head.

In the makeup of the Indian household, one finds a fairly high percentage of adults still living with their family of orientation. A few of these individuals are also members of a family of procreation with whom they are living, but in the household of their parents. However, a fairly high percentage have not formed families of procreation or are separated from their family of procreation. Among Indian males, (16 years and over), 33% are living with their family of orientation as compared to 16% of the Non-Indian males. Among Indian females, 27% are living with their family of orientation in comparison to 12% of Non-Indian females.

In regard to household size, we find that the average Indian household consists of 5.39 persons compared to 3.35 among Non-Indians and 3.38 in the general U.S. population. Households with a Full Blood head are slightly larger (5.72) than households with a Mixed Blood head (5.04). Single person households are more prevalent among Non-Indians, accounting for 19% of the households in comparison to 11% of Indian households.

Kinship System

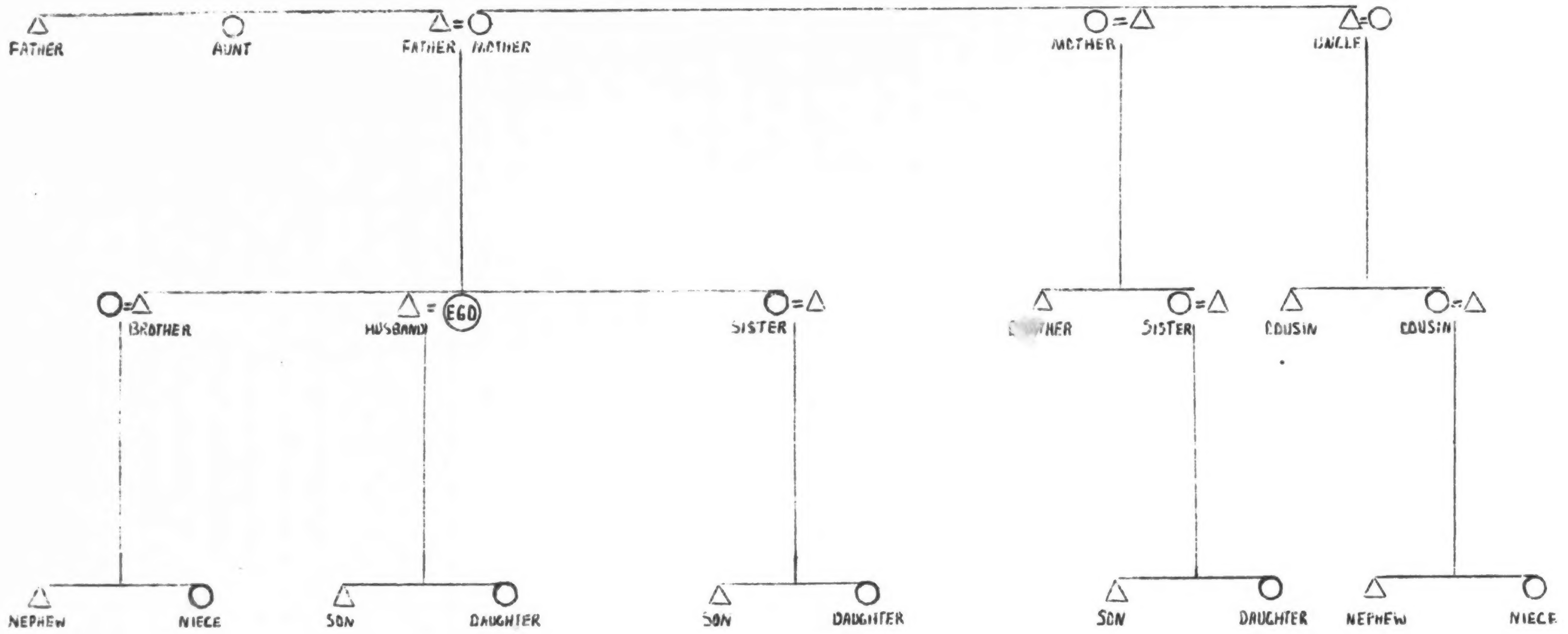
The traditional kinship terminology used by the Sioux is based on the sex of the relative through whom one is reckoning kinship and on the extension of lineal terms to collateral relatives. Thus one uses the same term for mother and mother's sister (iná) and for father and father's brother (até). Your mother's brother and father's sister are called by terms roughly equivalent to uncle and aunt in western kinship terminology. The terms sister and brother would be used for your siblings and the children of those you call mother and father, i.e., your parallel cousins - children of your maternal aunts and paternal uncles.[5]

Although much of the traditional kinship terminology has fallen into disuse, it is still used by some of the Full Bloods. In consequence, there is often confusion when Non-Indians ask about relationships. For example, an Oglala may call someone "aunt" whom a Non-Indian would call "cousin".

The kinship term applied to a person in traditional culture determined one's behavior toward the person. Persons called "mother" and "father" were treated with love and respect. One was more reserved with those called "aunt" and "uncle". Between brothers and between sisters there was cooperation and great love. The relationship between brother and sister, however, was marked by reserve - they did not speak to each other unless necessary or look directly at one another. They, however, were expected to be dedicated to one another and help each other in time of need. The strictest avoidance rules were between a person and his parent-in-law of the opposite sex. On the other extreme, joking relationships were permitted between a man and his brothers' wives and his wife's sisters. Familiar behavior between these affinal relatives probably was a result of the custom in which a man sometimes married his wife's sister or his brother's widow. Polygyny was accepted but not encouraged by the society.

Some survival of avoidance rules exists in Full Blood families, i.e., a few older women feel embarrassment when having to converse with their sons-in-law. However, the value of maintaining harmony within the family is still a strong one and has resulted sometimes in constraint between family members, even among those who were traditionally allowed to communicate freely. One occasionally hears an Oglala woman complain that her husband has not said a word to her in weeks.

OGLALA KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY*
English Equivalents


FATHER
AUNT
FATHER
MOTHER
MOTHER
UNCLE
BROTHER
HUSBAND
EGO
SISTER
SISTER
COUSIN
COUSIN
NEPHEW
NIECE
SON
DAUGHTER
SON
DAUGHTER
SON
DAUGHTER
NEPHEW
NIECE

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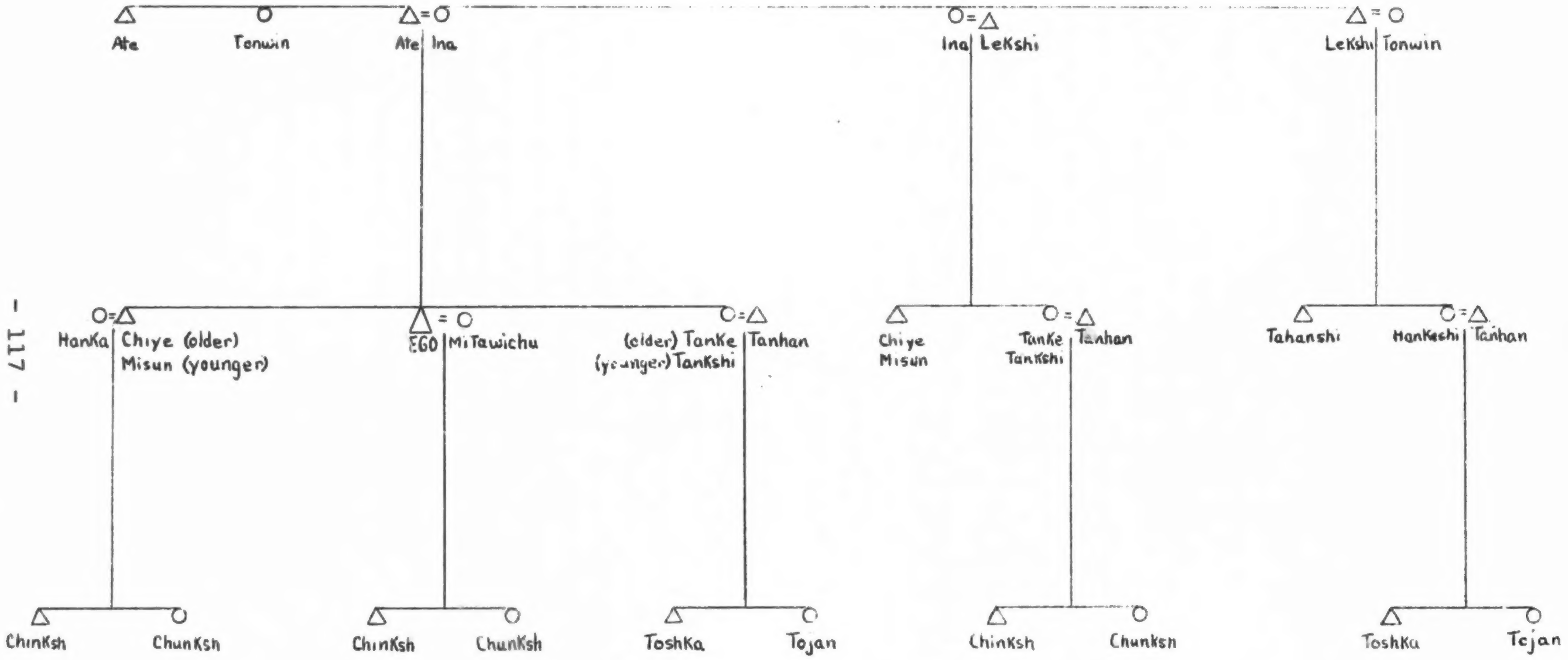
*Ego is the reference person - in this case, a female.

OGLALA KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

(Lakota Terms*)


Ate
Tonwin
Ate
Ina
Ina
Lekshi
Lekshi
Tonwin
Hanka
Chiye (older)
Misun (younger)
EGO
MiTawichu
(older) Tanke
(younger) Tankshi
Tanhan
Chiye
Misun
Tanke
Tankshi
Tanhan
Tahanshi
Hankashi
Tanhan
Chinksh
Chunksh
Chinksh
Chunksh
Toshka
Tojan
Chinksh
Chunksh
Toshka
Tejan

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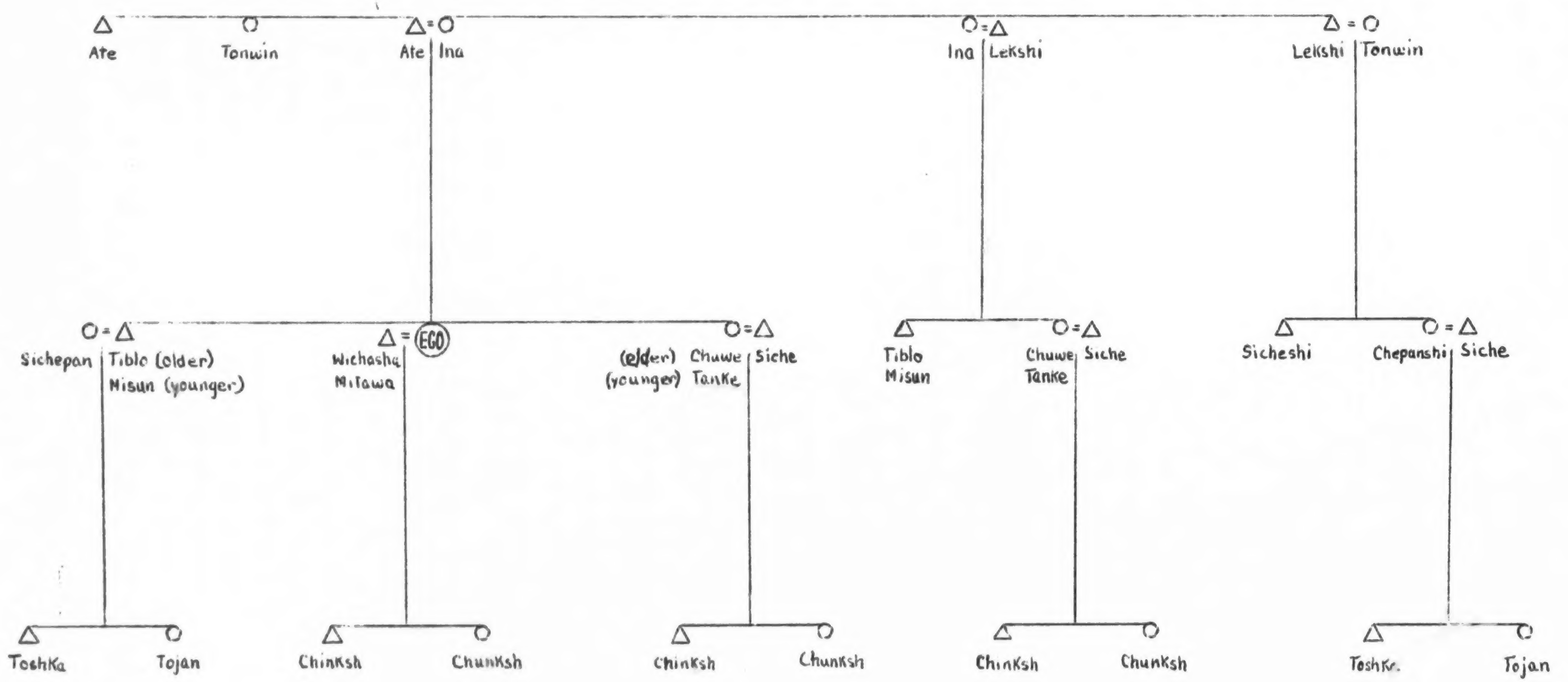
*Ego is the reference person, in this case, male.
Information on Lakota terms obtained through the kind cooperation of Hilda Catches and Rose Respects Nothing.

MALE △
FEMALE ○

OGLALA KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

(Lakota Terms*)


Ate
Tonwin
Ate
Ina
Ina
Lekshi
Lekshi
Tonwin
Sichepan
Tiblo (older)
Misun (younger)
Wichasha
Mitawa
EGO
(elder)
(younger)
Chuwe
Tanke
Siche
Tiblo
Misun
Chuwe
Tanke
Siche
Sicheshi
Chepanshi
Siche
Toshka
Tojan
Chinksh
Chunksh
Chinksh
Chunksh
Chinksh
Chunksh
Toshka
Tojan

Ego is the reference person, in this case, female.
Information on Lakota terms obtained through the kind
cooperation of Hilda Catches and Rose Respects Nothing.

MALE △
FEMALE ○

Although avoidance rules were functional in traditional Sioux culture as they helped to prevent discord, the lack of communication between family members may now be dysfunctional. The kinship system is no longer as cohesive as it was and obligations are not as well defined. The family today is less extensive, living in more crowded conditions and more turned-in on itself. The outlets for aggression and emotional release provided previously simply do not exist today so that tensions are greater within the family. These factors seem to indicate that more effective communications are needed.

In the present day kinship system, one's obligations to relatives depend very much on level of acculturation and geographical proximity. Ties with one's parents, grandparents and siblings are still strong, but changed in some aspects. Although the bond between mother and daughter is still a vital one, there is some tension resulting in quarrels. A few girls resent the greater attention and freedom accorded to the boys and this results in conflict with the mother and occasionally to a girl leaving home. The tie between father and sons has been greatly weakened due to the fact that in many cases, the father no longer provides a role model for the boy. In general, relatively greater respect is accorded the mother in the family by both the boys and girls.

Relationships between siblings are often strong ones although sibling rivalry may now cause conflicts. Sisters often quarrel if one feels that the other is receiving better treatment, more gifts, etc., but sisters generally will help each other out and remain sources of security. Brothers have retained the traditional pattern of comradeship and mutual aid although rivalry may ensue as a result of drinking.

The behavior patterns between sisters and brothers have changed radically with a joking relationship often taking the place of the once reserved behavior required in interaction between these relatives. A sister, however, often honors her brother by holding a powwow for him upon return from military duty and a brother often will avenge any wrong perpetrated against his sister.

Ties to grandparents are characterized by mutual affect and the showing of respect by the grandchildren and indulgence by the grandparents. The wisdom of these elders may not now be heeded to the extent it formerly was but the grandparents are the keepers and disseminators of traditional ways. When the grandparent has the care of the child, discipline is lax and there may be some conflict caused by generational differences. Because of receiving pensions such as Social Security a few grandparents are exploited finding themselves coerced into giving up part of their pensions or finding themselves surrounded by children and grandchildren, especially after receiving a check. Although grandmothers feel resentful when deprived of seeing their grandchildren, a few are beginning to rebel in cases when most of the care of their grandchildren has been placed in their hands. Because of the instability of the nuclear unit, it is often the grandmother who must assume the responsibility for the children.

Relationships between relatives beyond the basic ones we have discussed are often nebulous or blurred. Much to the disgust of the older generation, many younger Oglalas do not even know their specific kinship relation to a person. A boy may find himself chided by a grandparent for courting a girl who is a relative, a relationship of which neither the boy nor the girl was aware.

It would seem from observation that often a man's obligation is stronger toward his family of orientation than towards his family of procreation. Many times when a man abandons his wife and children, he returns to his parents' home and assumes no more responsibility for his family of procreation which usually results in the government having to provide sustenance for the family. Also, separation may lead to disputes between the wife's family and the husband's family.

This might be a good time to say something about the assumption of former family functions by government agencies. This has weakened the family and is one cause of family instability. Of course, one might argue that government intervention has been necessary because of some families' inability to provide certain services during the period of acculturation, but nevertheless this has been a factor in the loss of family functions.

On questions in our Baseline Data Study concerning the agent of responsibility in various family situations, one finds that a much higher percentage of Indians than Non-Indians indicated government responsibility. For instance, in cases where a child is orphaned, three times as many Indians than Non-Indians felt that the government should be responsible for the care and support of an orphaned child. In the case of one's house burning down, 41% of the Indians in contrast to 5% of the Non-Indians stated that the government should help out the family. Interestingly enough more Non-Indians (23%) than Indians (10%) stated that they would expect their relatives to help them in the case of a fire.

Some people feel that welfare policies have contributed to and even encouraged family instability. Because of Aid to Dependent Children, some men may, upon separating from their family, with a free conscience cease to support their children knowing that the wife will receive ADC payments. In a few cases, when a man is unemployed, divorce or separation has resulted in order to ensure support of the children and sometimes this is the only means to secure support of the family.

Male and Female Roles within the Family

In the traditionally patriarchal society, the double standard prevailed in regard to sexual behavior. The male as aggressor, considered a sexual conquest almost as great a deed as counting coup. The female, on the other hand, was expected to maintain her virginity until marriage and not engage in extra-marital affairs. The woman who was promiscuous in the eyes of the society was called witkowin - "crazy woman". Given this dual standard, it was necessary to protect the chastity of the girl through chaperonage and the use of the chastity belt.

Although a woman's status was lower than that of a man, the woman was feared and considered to have the power of destroying a man's ability to perform pursuits which proved his masculinity and granted him status. Especially powerful was menstrual blood, so powerful in fact that the menstruating woman was isolated in a tiny hut. This is part of a belief found in many societies in which the menstruating woman is forbidden to touch objects, food, etc., used or consumed by the male for fear of weakening masculinity. Sexual intercourse was also thought to have a debilitating effect on the male and was prohibited before engaging in warfare or in any important ceremonial. This led to unresolved conflict between the sexes. Hassrick comments that "this pattern suggests a kind of masochism through self denial."[6]

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6. Hassrick, p. 125.

Vestiges of these beliefs are still present among some Full Blood families. For example, the storing of medicinal herbs must be outside of the house for protection against menstrual pollution. Also a menstruating woman should not handle food or attend a yuwipi meeting.

The battle of the sexes is still going on today but in a somewhat different form. The loss of the warrior-hunter role of the male has left many of the men in an ambiguous position in their family and society. The formerly patriarchal character of Sioux society has given way to a more matriarchal focus. The woman has retained most of the traditional aspects of her role, but she has often had to assume new duties. In some cases, the woman has had to assume the economic support of her family and act as official spokesman for the family in relations with government agencies.

The matriarchal family is more prevalent among Full Bloods probably because many of the males are unemployed or only sporadically employed. In our study of high school students, 81% of the Full Bloods stated that a woman was the decision maker in their households. This applied in 67% of the households in which the father was present. In contrast, only 38% of the Mixed Blood students said that a woman was the decision maker - 23% in households where the father was present.

Sexual exploits are still a part of masculinity but the girls are now given more freedom. The double standard, however, remains and this places the young girl in the difficult position of being pursued, but condemned by the society if she gets caught. The negative sanctions imposed today for the loss of chastity are less stringent, being largely in the form of gossip.

In summing up the relation between the sexes, Bea Medicine states that:

> "There appears to be a lack of a binding of the two sexes into a tightly knit family unit because of the knowledge that the wife can, and indeed, does leave the husband and relies on a steady income of welfare payments and dole (surplus commodities). It seems that Dakota women are more conscious of the hold - sexual and monetary - which they exert over the male and are exploiting this greatly. Matrilineality is an increasing factor in present-day Dakota families. The role of the male appears to be even more emasculating. There have been instances of a mother proclaiming that a child really does not belong to

> her present spouse. Male frustrations are greatly increased and this contributes directly to other maladjustments in reservation life, i.e., drunkenness, felonies (increasing numbers of bad checks being written) and petty crimes."[7]

One might add that when a man is drunk, male resentment and an attempt to gain dominance may take the form of physical aggression against females.

CHILD REARING

Early Childhood

It is no longer easy to talk about normative childrearing practices among the Oglalas because of the variations among families at different levels of acculturation. All that we can do is to describe the pattern found among a large percentage and present a few of the alternative patterns.

Parenthood was highly esteemed among the Oglalas, but this did not mean having many children who could not be properly cared for. Today there is some concern on the part of older people about the increase in family size. Formerly prohibition of sexual intercourse for nursing mothers plus higher rates of child mortality helped to control family size.

The birth of a child is still, in general, considered a happy event. From the time of birth, Indian babies are given much attention and affection from every member of the family. In instances where the child is living in an extended family household, he or she is handled by everyone. Jealousy of a new child in the family is kept at a minimum because siblings are allowed to hold and play with the new baby. An older sister often helps the mother in the care and feeding of the infant or toddler.

Most of the care of the infant is in the hands of the mother. She feeds, bathes and diapers the baby. Some fathers will help in this area, but most do not. Fathers are reluctant to handle small babies and give little attention to the child until his or her personality begins to emerge. Handling them is playful. The father will hold the baby, bounce him and amuse him. The practice of boys being more with the father when they are older and girls with the mother is still quite common.

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[7] Medicine, p. 10-11.

During the first five years, the life of an Indian child is a simple and uncomplicated one. Small children are catered to and loved by everyone. Few controls are exercised. Methods of weaning and toilet training vary, depending on whether the mother is Mixed Blood or Full Blood, whether the parents live close to the grandparents and how much of the White man's way the mother has absorbed.

Most Full Blood women breast feed their babies, but are modest about nursing in public and so carry a bottle when going shopping, to the clinic, etc. Many Mixed Bloods, especially those who work, bottle feed the baby. Weaning takes place from nine to eighteen months, sometimes longer in isolated areas. The bottle is often used as a pacifier until three or four years and tea, pop or Kool-aid are given in the bottle. Sometimes a child who is already weaned will ask for a bottle if another child is born into the family. He is usually given a bottle, but older siblings will shame him into giving it up.

Among Full Bloods, the infant usually sleeps with the mother, but the custom of sexual continence while nursing is no longer practiced. In Mixed Blood families the infant sleeps in a crib, placed near the parents' bed.

Toilet training is handled more permissively by people living in the country. In summer months, young children in the isolated areas wear little if any clothing and toilet habits are learned by imitating older children. Town dwellers are more apt to use a schedule technique and may punish the child for accidents. Forcing a child is generally frowned on, however, especially by grandparents. Some parents who live with the grandparents want to follow more modern practices but are dominated by the grandparents who prefer the old ways of complete permissiveness. Feelings of deep respect and avoidance of family discord are still strong and so parents will often give in to the wishes of the grandparents.

The first five years of life are thus ones of general permissiveness among both Full Bloods and Mixed Bloods. Full Blood children are generally shy and afraid of strangers, especially White strangers. Mixed Blood children are more talkative and bold. There are few controls on the child's behavior except to keep him out of harm and close to the house.

The one characteristic of child raising among the Sioux which has not changed is the almost complete freedom given the child and the abundance of love and affection lavished upon the small child. Although in recent years, there has been evidence of child neglect and physical abuse, these cases are rare. Parents guilty of these practices are usually emotionally disturbed and cannot cope with everyday life. They exist in a state of apathy, taking out their frustrations on the very young or very old. The use of alcohol often causes the stoic, reserved Indian mother or father to commit acts of aggression against family members. We might add that there is very little legal protection for the battered child. In cases where child battering and neglect is frequent, the Tribal Court may place the child in a foster home.

The Child from Six through Twelve Years

When a child reaches school age, open affection on the part of elders decreases. Love is more often expressed through the giving of gifts. Now the child is allowed to roam more freely away from home. Both boys and girls may form unmixed groups for play purposes. In the summer months, the child will often spend most of his time away from the house, playing with his friends, and may not return home until the curfew hour (10PM). It must be remembered that the child in these circumstances is not roaming about in an unfamiliar environment, but generally remains within the neighborhood or village limits where he is known by most adults and any transgression will be reported to his parents. These child groups do sometimes get into mischief and become general nuisances. Some children, however, are not granted so much freedom and are expected to be home at mealtimes and members of the family will seek them out if they do not appear. The girls often have less freedom than the boys and some are expected to help with household chores and in the care of younger children.

Control over children now becomes slightly more stringent. Mixed Blood children are praised for doing well and spanked or scolded for misbehavior. Full Bloods also praise their children but usually shame is utilized as a disciplinary technique. One observes that in many families, children are verbally rebuked and threatened for misbehavior but there is no follow-up so that the child may continue to misbehave without any action being taken.

The value of generosity is instilled in a child at an early age. Children buy small presents for younger siblings and share treats with other children. To be stingy is to be a washichu and so shameful.

Hostility between peer groups emerges - Mixed Blood versus Full Blood, boys against girls, day students versus boarding students, etc. Among Mixed Bloods independence is stressed - "fight your own battles" Among peers, a child is expected to do well in school but not too well, to dress well, but not too well, etc.

Full Blood children are not taught to be competitive but reserved and not to stand out in a group. They are encouraged to stick up for one another and brothers and sisters should help fight one another's battles.

The child now is also expected to be able to take care of himself and allowed to make many decisions. Baby-sitters may be used when parents are away or the child is left with relatives. Occasionally children in this age group are left without adult supervision and may even be left in charge of younger children. If anything disastrous occurs, the child may be blamed.

In spite of the more matriarchal character of the society the boy is still, in general, more highly valued and accorded greater freedom.

> "The continued value of the male in modern Dakota society as an 'ideal' configuration is important. Sons and brothers (especially the eldest) are valued and treated with deference by most contemporary families. The tremendous freedom allowed the Dakota male has previously been noted. Present role expectations include ability in athletics, riding in rodeos, sexual exploits, drinking and breaking broncs."[8]

One often hears the Oglala woman lament the irresponsibility of the men and yet she as a mother often fosters irresponsibility in the socialization process through indulgence of her sons.

Adolescence

Given the type of childrearing practices found among the Oglalas, one would expect the emergence of self-reliant individuals with initiative and creativity. This is not the case.

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8. Medicine, p.12.

One finds as Macgregor points out that "The total effect of their environment is to generate insecurity, lack of purpose, indecision and passivity."[9] These traits become more pronounced as the child enters adolescence and becomes increasingly aware of the limitations of his environment and the image of the Indian. Erickson concludes that

> "the early childhood among the Dakota, within the limits of poverty and general listlessness, is a relatively rich and spontaneous existence which permits the school child to emerge from the family with a relative integration - i.e., with much trust, a little autonomy, and some initiative. This initiative between the ages of nine and twelve is still naively and not too successfully applied to play and work; while it becomes inescapably clear only in puberty that what initiative has been salvaged will not find identity. Emotional withdrawal and general absenteeism are the results."[10]

The Oglala teenager is beset with feelings of insecurity, alienation and anxiety which lead many times to withdrawal and apathy or erupt into delinquent behavior. He or she is strongly attached to the family but the family is often an unstable source of support. While dependent on the family for emotional support, the teenager is also ambivalent about his relations. He wants independence, but is afraid to reach out for fear of losing the love of family members and because he is unsure of his abilities to make it on his own. The adolescent has deep feelings of inferiority arising from economic deprivation, inadequate education and a negative image of Indians. His aspirations are many times either low or unrealistic. He values school and yet is afraid he will drop out. The teenager sees few choices for future fulfillment in the Reservation environment and yet fears leaving the security of the Reservation.

Among Mixed Bloods, there is more control of adolescent girls than of the boys. School accomplishment is not a matter of concern unless the boy or girl is failing. Teenagers are encouraged to excel in sports and to be popular. The adolescent is expected to care for his room and clothes. Money is given freely, but there is little encouragement to budget or save money. Kids are often given gifts of money as rewards for doing well in school. If a boy drops out of school, he is often encouraged to enter the armed forces.

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[9] Macgregor, p. 206.

[10] Erik H. Erickson, Childhood and Society, p. 163

The mother usually has greater influence on the teenager and is the one who disciplines him or her. Mixed Blood fathers are stricter than Full Blood fathers and use harsher forms of punishment, i.e., no visiting friends, no money, etc. The mother is expected to enforce the punishment. Generally a father is stricter with the boys - the girls often talk him out of punishment through extra good behavior for a limited time.

Among Full Bloods, the girls are more protected, boys are allowed to run free. Misbehavior results in being shamed or in the silent treatment. When this happens the kids will often leave home and move in with a grandparent or other relative and sometimes with a friend. The parents are generous with their teenagers and give up necessities to provide the boy or girl with spending money and the proper clothes. The teenager does pretty much as he pleases and can quit school with little opposition from the parents, but is often honored by a give-away if he completes high school. The parents are pleased if their children participate in sports and other school activities, but are not too disappointed if they don't. Some teenagers take care of their own room and clothes, but the Full Blood mother is more apt to pick up after them and take care of their clothes.

THE COMMUNITY

Between the family and the tribe stands the community. Formerly the family and the community were oftentimes synonymous. The former bands settled in different areas of the Reservation so that communities were composed of families interrelated through blood and affinal ties. This pattern has broken down although in a few settlements many of the families can trace their ancestry back to the same band.

There is considerable variation in the degree of cohesiveness of the communities, but in general one can say that community organization has become diffuse and community pride has waned. Community meetings involving community development are poorly attended and then only a few contribute opinions or suggestions. It is often very difficult to secure community cooperation for the carrying out of any project or program. It should be pointed out however, that the lack of coordination among the various government agencies does not provide a good example to Indian communities.

Nearly all of the communities of any size have some place to hold meetings and recreational activities - a community hall, church or school. In the meeting halls, bingos, wakes and powwows are held. Formerly there was greater community feeling and more community affairs which were attended by nearly everyone.

The growing community disorganization has its roots in the factionalism which has resulted from a breakdown of the band through the splintering into smaller groups and then the demise of the band and tiyoshpaye as important social political units.

Also contributing to community disorganization are the weakening of extended family cooperation and the leveling effect which generates envy. This has caused greater intrafamily and inter-family strife within the community, making it more difficult to achieve unity.

Also entering into the picture is the loss of strong leadership patterns in the acculturation process. Few communities have individuals who can claim the respect of the majority and inspire community actions. Many capable men and women shy away from leadership roles because of "the better than anyone else" accusation hurled at a person who attempts to assume leadership.

Leadership must be earned among the Oglalas, but the problem is that there are few channels by which one can earn a leadership position. Leadership today requires that a person have an almost impervious shell to the slings and arrows of gossip and petty incriminations. This is difficult to achieve in a society which places emphasis on avoidance of direct interpersonal conflict and values personal popularity.

The overriding factor in the development of community disorganization has been the role of the government which has fostered community disintegration and assumed many of the community functions. In the beginning, the government deliberately sought to divide the Indians in order to gain greater control. They broke up the band organization, causing the proliferation of petty chiefs who had little authority or respect. Certain chiefs were singled out for rubber stamp functions and others discarded as non-progressive without regard for the dignity or real authority of the leaders involved. And so both groups of leaders lost power, one because of becoming dupes of the government in the eyes of the Indians and the other because the government refused to recognize them as real leaders. The result was a cultural vacuum in leadership.

Even greater reasons for lack of community organization have been that the government has granted little real power to Indians in the decision making process and has inaugurated programs without the involvement of the people. The community has been left in the position of having to accept whatever the White policy maker decides is needed. Thus the Indian has come to expect community services without having to contribute labor or money and considers most attempts to involve him in community development as a meaningless gesture or an attempt of the government to renig on its obligations. Small wonder that community cohesiveness has declined.

Today greater efforts are being made to strengthen the community. Government agencies are sincerely seeking to involve Indians in the establishment and administration of community services. The OEO, especially, has been working on a grass roots level, calling community meetings to discuss programs and employing individuals to work in the community rather than on a reservationwide basis. Some of these efforts have been successful, but many have not been because of the degree of disorganization present in the communities.

THE TRIBE

Traditional Structure

The social structure of U.S. Indians includes an entity not shared by other Americans, that of the tribe. Although tribal affiliation is sometimes blurred and there is internal factionalism, tribal identity remains a source of pride and potential unity. Approximately 95% of the Indians of the Pine Ridge Reservation are members of the Oglala Sioux Tribe. Their Indian ancestry, however, is mixed. The Oglalas have been intermarrying with other Indian groups, especially those from the other Teton Dakota subdivisions, since early times. An Indian of pure Oglala ancestry probably does not exist.

The traditional political structure of the Sioux was highly developed. The individual belonged to the band, the tribe and the Teton Dakota nation. Each of these political units had governing bodies and the criteria for attainment of political power were well defined.

Each band had a headman or chief who gained this position through individual achievement and family status. There was no formalized class system, but there was what one might term an aristocracy of higher status families. To be of "good family" involved the following criteria: a greater accumulation of wealth, i.e., horses; adherence to behavior exemplifying such Oglala virtues as generosity, bravery, etc.; the sponsorship of important rituals; membership in the various societies; and the possession of supernatural power through visions and dreams.[11] To be a member of such a family greatly increased one's chances for achieving political power. A man, however, could raise his status through war deeds and excellence in other pursuits, but according to Hassrick this never quite compensated for not being of "good family". He says of Red Cloud:

> "Red Cloud's achievements were such that he is known as one of the most illustrious American figures in the nineteenth century. His fantastic war record was unexcelled; his brilliance as a headman was unparalled... In spite of his distinguished career, Red Cloud, because of a modest family background, was never able to command the kind of reverence among the Sioux that someone from an important family might have received."[12]

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11. See Hassrick, p. 14.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

The fraternal organizations of the Sioux functioned to award status, designate duties and foster leadership. There were two groups of these societies: the police fraternities (Akichitas), i.e., the Kit Foxes, composed of young men whose duties were to maintain order, especially during tribal gatherings; and the civil societies like the Nachas, sometimes called the Big Bellies, whose membership included the most distinguished patriarchs. The Nacha Ominichia was the true governing body of the tribe. They determined war and hunting policies, the moving of camp sites, etc.

Among the Oglalas, seven men were appointed from the Nacha group to act as an executive council (Wichasa Itachans). These councilmen in turn, appointed the four Shirt Wearers who became the official executives and counsellors of the tribe. On the level of the nation, there were four appointed executives known as the Supreme Owners (Wichasa Yatapikas).

Grinnell mentions the institution of the Life Term Chiefs which existed only between 1876 and the beginning of the reservation period.[13] These seven leaders were appointed by the Chief's Society and were the supreme policy makers. Crazy Horse was the first Life Term Chief to be appointed.

Although reports of the political organization of the Oglalas are rather confused, apparently the leaders of the various councils were far from being dictators. Obedience and discipline were required during war expeditions and communal hunts, but civil authority was through mutual consent limited by the absence of means to enforce decisions. According to Grinnell,

> "Determination of policy among the Oglalas was the result of a highly informal process in which, through councils and other policy groups, a concensus was arrived at through a continuous weighing of views until objections to the proposals under consideration had been reduced to a minimum..... Even after a decision was reached, it was possible and even customary for dissentors simply to leave the group, thus evading the necessity for obeying a decision to which they were opposed. The binding force of majority rule as evidenced in a formal vote by a representative assembly has no acceptance in Oglala culture."[14]

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13. Ira H. Grinnell, The Tribal Government of the Oglala Sioux, p. 23.
14. Ibid., p. 25.

Tribal Structure Today

Within the tribe, exist various groupings of individuals who form factions which serve to impede tribal unity. The most destructive to unity is the Full Blood - Mixed Blood division, the former representing the more traditional viewpoint and the latter the more acculturated. It is to be understood that these groups are cultural and not biological, that is the blood quantum of the individual does not necessarily categorize him as Full Blood or Mixed Blood but rather it is which group he identifies with socially and culturally. Besides these factions, there are regional or community blocks. One of the most pronounced of regional conflicts is between residents of Pine Ridge village and those from what is known as "the districts" - people living outside of Pine Ridge village. Because Pine Ridge is "the capital" of the Reservation by virtue of being the agency headquarters and the largest community, the district Oglalas feel that they receive less attention and services than do the Pine Ridge residents.

The social class structure today is difficult to pinpoint with any exactitude. One does not, in general, hear Indians talk about lower or middle class Indians. Such social stratification categories are used more by Non-Indians who do occasionally pigeonhole certain Indians as middle class - mainly government employees and some ranchers, the implication being that the remaining Indians are lower class.

Within the Indian society, the concept of "the good family" still exists. Among Mixed Bloods, the characteristics of "the good family" are based more on the American class system; steady employment of the household head, educational attainment, adherence to middle class mores, possessing a fairly good house and late model car, dressing well, etc. There are a few Mixed Blood families, mostly ranchers, who are considered rich, but some of these families tend to identify more with the Whites and are Indians only when it is convenient - to take advantage of Indian privileges.

The criteria of "the good family" among Full Bloods are more ambiguous. It would seem, however, that they are based more on behavior. The members of a "good family" are honest, their word can be relied on, they share with others, they do not run around and get into constant trouble through excessive drinking and breaking the law, their loyalty to kin remains strong and they help those in need. Often the person of good family acts as a resource on channels of government aid. In this capacity he functions as a go-between for relatives and neighbors who are less knowledgeable of the intricacies of the bureaucracy. Steady employment is not a required criterion and acceptance of welfare does not affect one's status. To a lesser extent, some prestige still accrues to the families who can trace their ancestry to one of the more illustrous Oglala leaders.

With the beginning of the reservation period, the traditional governing bodies of the Oglalas became extinct or developed into sounding boards for Indian opinion with very little authority granted to them by the government. In the early days of the reservation system, the government agent possessed almost dictatorial powers. An Indian police force was formed mainly for the purpose of enforcing the orders of the agent.

From the beginning of government contact with Indians, the government often assumed that the leadership of the tribe was invested in one man who had the power to make decisions for the whole tribe. The mistaken idea of the all powerful chief led to a number of misunderstandings. For example, Conquering Bear was selected by the government as the official tribal representative in the Fort Laramie Treaty in 1851. The treaty was not considered binding by all the bands of the Dakota because Conquering Bear was but one headman. Later Red Cloud was considered by the government to be head chief of all of the Teton Dakota and was selected to represent the Sioux Nation in official negotiations.

> "It appears that the Oglala viewed such selection by White men of Indian 'chiefs' in the same light as they did the propitiation and courting of the unpredictable and capricious supernatural beings. Ability to be recognized by the Whites was simply another kind of personal power."[15]

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[15] Grinnell, p. 22.

The Chief's Society remained in operation after the establishment of the Pine Ridge Reservation and its importance as an advisory group depended on the agent in power. Agent John Brennan encouraged the council which was composed of the traditional leaders or successors appointed by them. In 1918, the Chief's Society was dissolved by Superintendent Tidwell. Later Superintendent McGregor formed the Treaty Council whose members were appointed by him. This was composed of a "number of young, educated, 'full-blood' men, apparently descendants and relatives of traditional leaders."[16] The Treaty Council was superseded by the Tribal Council in 1935, but interestingly enough, although the government recognizes only the Tribal Council, the Treaty Council has not disbanded, the members considering themselves to be the true representative body of the Oglalas. However, very few young Oglalas and Non-Indians even know of the existence of the Treaty Council.

In an attempt to grant more authority to Indians, Congress in 1934 passed the Indian Reorganization Act which authorized the establishment of tribal councils and the drafting of tribal constitutions. A constitution for the Oglala Sioux, based largely on existing state constitutions and the U.S. Constitution, was formulated in 1935 and accepted in a referendum by a vote of 1,348 to 1,041, with many Oglalas abstaining from voting.

A number of objections arose from the provisions of the Constitution. The traditional leaders felt that to undergo an election campaign for the Tribal Council was demeaning, their status being assumed by tradition. Grinnell quotes one observer as saying: "To get out an electioneer is as repulsive to one of the old leaders as physical labor would be to a Southern aristocrat."[17]

Another objection had to do with the ignoring of the tiyoshpaye groupings in the organization of the electoral districts.

> "In addition to the fact that the proposed election districts tended to divide the tiyospaye groups, it seems clear that little attention was given to the matter of commonality of interest within a given election district. To cite an extreme example, three election districts came together at one point, dividing a tiyospaye into three parts."[18]

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16. Ibid., p. 27.
17. Ibid., p. 31.
18. Ibid., p. 31-32.

One should point out, however, that the election districts were not newly constituted entities, but were based on the BIA farm districts. In spite of the existence of districts for some time, many Oglalas cannot name the districts and some do not know their own district. District organization is weak, the district councils have few functions and some meet only occasionally.

The eight reservation districts form the basis for representation on the Tribal Council. Each district is represented according to its population. There is one council member for every 300 tribal members and an additional one if the remaining population consists of at least 150 persons. The president and vice-president are elected on a reservationwide basis, and they plus the secretary, treasurer and fifth member (who are elected by the Council) and the BIA superintendent form the Executive Committee of the Tribe. This Committee meets once a week and carries on tribal business between meetings of the Tribal Council. Only the councilmen are entitled to vote in the Council, the president being allowed to vote only in the case of a tie.

All tribal members 21 years of age or over who have resided on the Reservation at least one year, are eligible to vote in the Tribal Council elections. Children born on the Reservation of Oglala parents are automatically enrolled in the Tribe. In cases where eligibility is in doubt, i.e., an Oglala born off the Reservation, the Enrollment Committee of the Council decides if the person is entitled to enrollment.

Elections for all tribal councilmen take place every two years and candidates must be at least 25 years of age. Ages of the present Council members range from 30 to 77 years, the average age being 54 years. The present Council consists of 32 members, 27 men and 5 women. Besides district representation, three communities are represented separately on the Council: Pine Ridge village, Red Shirt Table and Oglala Jr. The Council is required by the Constitution to meet four times a year, but the amount of business to be attended to makes it necessary to meet much more often. The minutes of each meeting are distributed to interested agencies. The annual salaries for Councilmen are $1,800, the president receives $8,054, and the vice-president - $7,271.

The powers of the Tribal Council are limited by federal policy and the Constitution of the Tribe. The Council passes resolutions and ordinances governing various areas. Technically the Council members as officials of the Tribe are involved in land operations, law and order, education, housing, expenditure of tribal funds, management of tribal property, levying of taxes, protection of natural resources, preservation of the welfare and safety of the people, etc. The legislation passed by the Tribal Council is subject to review by the BIA superintendent and on up the line of the bureaucracy. Any tribal act may be vetoed by the Secretary of the Interior.

The BIA is making an effort to grant more power to the Council, but in reality much of the real authority remains with the BIA. There is still reliance on BIA officials for advice and recommendations. Some of the Indians still look upon the superintendent as "the boss of the Reservation." He is often appealed to in cases when they feel a government service has been unsatisfactory. This depends, however, on the individual Indian's political bent. If a supporter of the tribal president, the Indian may go to him, rather than to the superintendent. The tribal president in turn may then contact the superintendent or even officials in Washington. This is all part of a game between the Indians and the government employees and results in hassles which serve to enliven the sometimes monotonous existence of reservation life. A PHS physician describes the process as related to the Indian patient and the doctor when the former feels he is not receiving good service:

> "If the physician refuses to render care, Congressmen quickly step into the picture. Soon the physician and the Indian patient are trying to irritate each other in every conceivable fashion. And each apparently finds satisfaction in the game."[19]

We might add that counting coup on government employees not only is a source of satisfaction to the Oglalas but is one of the few remaining sources of individual power.

Interest in tribal politics is often confined to a small minority of Oglalas. Many Indians regard the actions of the councilmen as inept and sometimes dishonest and a few feel the Council to be an unnecessary and powerless organization that

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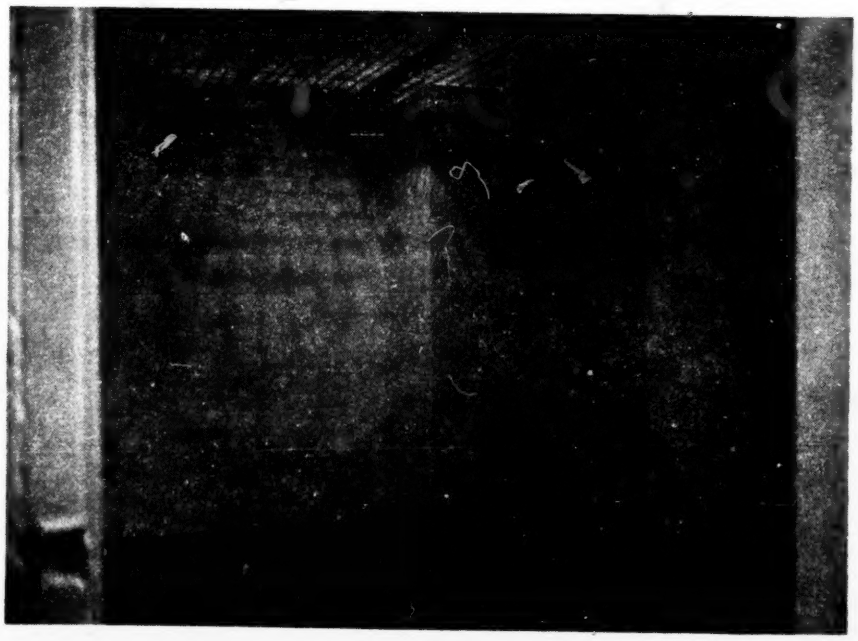
[19] Lionel H. deMontigny, M.D., "Doctor-Indian Patient Relationship," in Pine Ridge Research Bulletin, No. 8. p. 38.



The tribal court house which also houses the jail. Below a jail cell in which as many as six persons may be incarcerated at one time.

could be dispensed with. This discourages some capable individuals from running for tribal offices. The Tribal Council, however, has a number of dedicated and intelligent members, but the position and nature of the institution impedes its effectiveness. The Council stands between the tribal members and the government. The former have not completely accepted or do not always respect the Council and the latter has not accorded the Council real authority. Furthermore, the means are not always available to carry out the resolutions of the Council due to lack of funds, government disapproval or lack of interest or agreement on the part of the Indians. And yet the Council is the only officially recognized governing body of the Oglalas and is an existing institution through which they could gain more control over their destiny. If more authority were granted the Council, the Oglalas would take greater interest in its actions, be more concerned about the quality of candidates and vote in greater numbers in the elections.

A valid criticism of the tribal government is the lack of continuity between administrations. The changing of the guard nearly every two years sometimes results in discarding some of the effective programs initiated by a previous administration. Also, the pall of nepotism hangs over tribal politics so that relatives and friends of outgoing tribal officials who have held positions in tribal programs may find themselves being replaced by relatives and friends of the new officials.

Law and Order

Because of the unique legal status of the Reservation as a federal reserve not under the control of the state, jurisdictional powers in regard to law and order are somewhat confusing. The BIA administers the local branch of Law and Order and three of the employees are federal officers: the criminal investigator, the special officer and the captain of the police; the last two offices are filled by Indians. The remaining police force is composed of tribal employees (under the jurisdiction of the Tribe) and all are Indians.

In cases involving major crimes, the federal officers and the FBI are in charge of investigations and arrests. The accused are tried in the Federal Court in Deadwood, South Dakota. Misdemeanors are handled by the Tribal Police and trials are before the Oglala Tribal Court in Pine Ridge. Non-Indians may be arrested by the Tribal Police and jailed temporarily in Pine Ridge, but they are handed over to the county deputy sheriff and taken off the Reservation to Hot Springs for arraignment and incarceration. An Indian who wishes to file a complaint against a Non-Indian must do so with the deputy sheriff. In Bennett County, an organized county, Indians are under county jurisdiction unless they commit a crime on trust land in which case they come under tribal authority and are taken to Pine Ridge.

Criminal and civil cases under tribal jurisdiction are governed by the Oglala Sioux Tribal Code which was drafted by Indians and became the official code in December, 1935. The chief judge, three associate judges and the tribal prosecutor of the Oglala Sioux Tribal Court are appointed by the Tribal Council for four year terms. A legal education is not a requirement for judgeship but all judges must be knowledgeable of the provisions of the Tribal Code. The accused may defend himself or may hire a tribal lawyer, often a lay person, who charges a small fee for his services - there are no set fees. The maximum penalty which the Court may impose is a fine of $360 or a jail sentence of six months.

CHAPTER VIII

MENTAL AND SOCIAL DISORDERS

Introduction

The previous chapters have revealed the socio-economic conditions prevailing on the Pine Ridge Reservation. The enormity of the societal problems cannot help but be reflected in the behavioral patterns. One would in fact, expect that the results would be high rates of socio-psychological disorders. In this chapter, we will delineate the most prevalent disorders and attempt to relate them to socio-economic factors.

Extent of Psychiatric Disorder

As part of our Baseline Data Study, we administered to our sample population of 1553 adults a standard test known as the Health Opinion Survey (HOS).[1]

The test consists of twenty questions in the present tense which ask about symptoms which would reveal the extent of the presence of psychoneurotic and psychophysiologic disorder. HOS is designed to measure the prevalence of this type of psychiatric disorder in a population and is not used to measure psychiatric disorder on an individual basis.

In order to be certain that the test would be applicable to the Indian population, it was administered to patients diagnosed by the psychiatrist of CMHP as having a psychiatric disorder and to a control group of "normal" individuals. The mean score for the psychiatric patients was significantly higher (36.5) than for the control group (26.7) - the higher the HOS score, the greater the extent of psychiatric disorder of the type measured by HOS.

Due to results of the pretest, it was decided that the HOS would be included as part of the Baseline Data Study. It was hoped that the HOS would provide a means of delineating those segments of the population with the highest rates of psychiatric disorder and provide some clues as regards the etiology of psychiatric disorders in the Indian population of Pine Ridge. Obviously such results would be invaluable in primary prevention and program planning. Also, by having established the rate of psychiatric disorder at a given point in time would make it possible to gauge changes in the extent of psychiatric disorder in the future.

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[1] Developed by Allister M. Macmillan. For more detailed information on this measure see A.M. Macmillan "The Health Opinion Survey: Technique for Estimating Prevalence of Psychoneurotic and Related Types of Disorder in Communities" in Psychological Reports, vol. 3, pp. 325-337; and Dorothea Leighton et al, The Character of Danger, Psychiatric Symptoms in Selected Communities, N.Y. Basic Books, 1963, Chapter VII.

The difference between mean scores of the Indian and Non-Indian population on the Reservation proved to be statistically significant - 27.54 for the Indians and 24.16 for the Non-Indians. This would seem to indicate a higher rate of mental disorder among the Indian population. However, the cross-cultural validity of the test or even its use among differing socio-economic groups in the same population for the purpose of comparison is controversial.

In the initial attempt to delineate those variables related to psychiatric disorder in the Indian population, we found a strong relationship between HOS and age - as age increases, HOS scores increase. This tended to cancel out other significant variables such as educational and accultural levels which were also highly related to age. However, when the subjects were divided according to whether they were employed or not employed, the result showed that age and HOS were correlated only among the not employed.

This division also revealed most clearly that it was perhaps not meaningful to compare variables as though we had one continuum. Rather the differences between the two groups were such that we might conclude the existence of a dichotomy in the population. If we were dealing with two disparate groups, variables should perhaps be compared only within the two groups.

Let us look at the two groups. Group I consisted of those employed at the time of being interviewed and Group II of those not employed either because of being unemployed members of the labor force, housewives, or those retired or disabled. Following is a table showing the mean scores for a number of variables for the two groups. The difference between the mean scores for each group was highly significant statistically on each variable.

TABLE 4

MEAN SCORES OF VARIABLES FOR GROUP I AND GROUP II

Variable	Group I (Employed)	Group II (Not Employed	F. Values*	Remarks
Ethnic Group	1.63	1.41	62.301	Higher % of Mixed Bloods in Group I. Full Bloods scored as one and Mixed Bloods as two.
Educational Level	4.03	3.07	194.566	
Acculturation Level	11.30	8.09	206.688	Acculturation score based on educational level, household language, experience off reservation and use of Indian medicine and Indian medicine men.
Economic Security	13.06	5.81	1348.809	Score based on household income and security of source of income.
Security of Income	7.41	2.44	1536.118	Based on security of income - type of earned or unearned income.
Degree of Independence	14.22	11.31	41.367	Based on answers to questions regarding family and community independence from government.

*Any F over 6.66 indicates a significance at better than the .01 level.

From the above differences it seems as though we are dealing with two distinct groups whose background characteristics differ significantly enough to be considered as separate socio-cultural segments of the Indian population. Group I apparently consists of those whose orientation tends more toward middle class standards. They are the more acculturated, better educated, have greater economic security and are less dependent on the government. In other words, they are the less powerless. A higher proportion of the group is made up of Mixed Bloods. Group II consists of mostly Indians whose value system is probably an ambivalent one or else is oriented more toward the traditional. They are the more impoverished and dependent and less acculturated and educated Indians.

Now let us consider the HOS score as the independent variable and see how it compares across the two groups and with the dependent variables within each group. First of all, we find, that the mean HOS score (26.00) for Group I is significantly lower than for Group II (28.42) - F=47.969.**[2]

If we accept the Oglalas as one cultural group, then the conclusion must be that the employed are mentally healthier than those who are jobless. Looking at the HOS levels based on whether the score falls into high, medium or low levels, we find the following distribution for the two groups.

TABLE 5

HOS LEVELS ACCORDING TO EMPLOYMENT STATUS
Percentage Distribution

HOS LEVEL	GROUP I (Employed)	GROUP II (Not Employed)
High	18.5	34.6
Medium	30.8	31.3
Low	50.7	34.1

The distribution of HOS scores by levels for the employed shows that over half fall into the low level which means they have low HOS scores while only 18.5% fall into the high HOS level. However, among the not employed, the distribution is fairly even, approximately one third falling into each of three levels.

If, however, we are dealing with two distinctive cultural groups, making for a possibility that HOS scores are being influenced by cultural differences then we must look at the various dependent variables as related to HOS within each group.

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[2] Two asterisks indicate significance greater than the .01 level; one asterisk greater than the .05 level.

Among Indians in Group I, we find few significant relationships between HOS and the dependent variables. There are low but significant correlations between level of acculturation and HOS level (r=-.101*) and between educational level and HOS (r=-.091*). There is then a slight tendency for those with a higher level of acculturation to fall into the low HOS level and for those with higher educational level to have lower HOS scores. Also, there is a borderline tendency for those with higher economic security and security of income scores to have lower HOS scores (r=-.087* and -.097* respectively).

Among Indians in Group II, we find that those with lower HOS scores are more likely to be women (-.115**), younger (-.306**), have higher educational (-.237**) and acculturation levels (-.214**), and to be more independent (-.131**).

The fact that among those who are not employed, those with the higher acculturation and education levels are more likely to score lower in HOS is interesting. One would expect that the jobless who are better educated and more acculturated would be more frustrated and so have higher HOS scores. They are, however, generally the younger people and being more acculturated may have greater hope of changing their situation.

One segment of Group II which differs markedly from the others is that of women with no income. This group is, in general, comprised of housewives being supported by their husbands. These women show a low rate of psychiatric disorder (mean HOS score - 25.88) and are relatively high on acculturation (10.51) and independence (12.87). This group possesses characteristics more like those of Group I.

The unemployed members of the labor force who form a part of Group II do have higher mean HOS score (27.39) than Group I subjects, but the difference is not as great as one might expect. Their reaction to stress may sometimes take another form as we shall see later.

It is mainly the persons living on unearned income who have the highest HOS scores. These are older people living on pensions, housewives or unemployed persons on welfare, the disabled who are usually eligible for welfare payments and some who have only lease income. Here we have a group suffering greater impoverishment, having less chance of altering their position and less purpose in life.

One interesting finding is that those with greater security of income in Group II show a higher rate of psychiatric disorder. The income of the group is based on pensions and social security plus lease money in some cases. Here we have mostly older people whose income is low and who also may feel greater hopelessness and alienation.

Levels of education and acculturation are affecting the HOS scores in both groups and in Group II factors such as age and degree of independence are also related to HOS. It is interesting that the Mixed Blood - Full Blood factor practically disappears as being significant in regard to HOS in both groups.

It is thus the more powerless in the total population who have the highest HOS scores and so the highest rate of mental disorder. This implies that the dependency role for the Indian is not devoid of stress. One of the myths regarding Indians is that they have accepted the dependency role and the implication is that in consequence, they are content living on the dole. Our data indicate clearly that this is not the case. Those living on unearned income have the highest rate of psychiatric disorder. There are also those with fewer means at their disposal to change their situation because of being less educated and acculturated. They, therefore, have less choice and so less control over their destiny. They are the more powerless and more dependent. Often their only recourse is to accept welfare or have an acceptable disability. They may on one hand accept this role as the only viable alternative but on the other hand, it seems they have not resigned themselves to a dependent status. This may, in fact, serve to increase their sense of powerlessness, hopelessness and purposelessness.

SUICIDE ATTEMPTS

When Sharon White* was still an infant, her parents were divorced. Her father remarried and disappeared completely from her life. After the divorce, Sharon and her mother lived with her maternal grandmother in an off-reservation town. During this period the mother drank a lot, ran around with a number of men and neglected Sharon. When Sharon was about nine years old, her mother married a man from the Reservation and the family took up residence in Manderson. Sharon's stepfather was affable but ineffectual and was dominated by his wife.

Sharon's mother existed in a state of chronic depression and manifested inconsistencies in disciplining her children. She seemed to be at "the end of her rope" with them, complaining of their disobedience and that she could "do nothing with them". At times she would be overly permissive and then suddenly burst forth in a rage which would result in punitive actions. This would be followed by feelings of guilt and a return to letting "the kids do what they wanted."

In 1966, marital troubles took most of the attention of Sharon's mother. Sharon urged her mother to get a divorce and made accusations in regard to the moral behavior of her stepfather. In this way she was forcing her mother to make a choice between herself and her stepfather.

Eventually the mother separated from the stepfather and the family moved to Pine Ridge village. Sharon, however, became increasingly depressed and began to stay away overnight and go to White Clay to drink with friends. Each time this occurred, she was severely punished by her mother and suffered from a withdrawal of maternal affection. After the mother's "mad" had dissipated, she would again be permissive with Sharon.

Quarrels began to erupt between the maternal grandmother and Sharon and her mother. The grandmother berated Sharon for her behavior and blamed it on her mother. Sharon felt that her younger brothers were receiving more attention than she was. One night she dreamed of her mother standing over her with a bullwhip. This could indicate a fear of reprisal from her mother or a desire to be disciplined.

In early 1967, Sharon (now fourteen years old) ingested twenty-five Anacin tablets. In the autumn of the same year, she was hospitalized after taking an overdose of barbituates.

One of the most alarming problems facing CMHP has been the high rate of suicide attempts by Indians on the Reservation. In 1968 there was one completed suicide[3] and forty-four suicide attempts reported to the Program. 84% of the attempts were made by females, 46% were under twenty years of age and 78% under thirty years. 16% of the attempts were made by males, 43% of whom were less than twenty years and 71% less than thirty years of age.

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[3] There were three completed suicides by Pine Ridge residents which took place off the Reservation.

*Fictitious name.

Although there are no national statistics on attempted suicide rates with which to make a comparison, it is estimated that the rate of attempted suicides is eight times higher than for completed suicides.[4] Using this ratio, one could estimate from NIMH statistics for 1966 on the rate of completed suicides (10.9 per 100,000 population) that the attempt rate would be approximately 87/100,000. This compares to 440/100,000 on Pine Ridge. Using this very gross means of comparison, the rate of suicide attempts among Indians here is over five times higher than the estimated national rate.

Of the forty-four suicide attempts on the Reservation, 45.5% were made by Full Bloods and 54.5% by Mixed Bloods, but nearly all (98%) were of one half or more Indian blood.

The most frequently used method for attempting suicide was the ingestion of an overdose of medicine (64%). The breakdown by method is as follows:

Small overdose	34.1%
Large overdose	29.5%
Wrist cutting	11.4%
Shooting	2.3%
Poison	2.3%
Other or not clear	20.5%

The most common precipitating stress, in cases when this was known, was a quarrel with a spouse or other relative (60%). The intent of the suicide, when this could be ascertained, was in 21% of the cases to die, in 50% to change a relationship with a significant person, and in 15% to gamble with life.

In 34% of the cases, the person had made one or two previous suicide attempts. Of interest is the fact that 48.5% of the attemptors had contacted health personnel for some reason within a month prior to the attempt. This makes it imperative for the health staff and other service personnel to be alert to symptoms of depression, especially among individuals with vague complaints.[5]

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[4] N. Fareberow and E. Schneidman. The Cry for Help. McGraw-Hill, 1961.

[5] For more information on suicides on the Pine Ridge Reservation see Carl Mindell, M.D. and Paul Stuart. "Suicide and Self-Destructive Behavior in the Oglala Sioux" in Pine Ridge Research Bulletin, No. 1, Jan. 1968, pp. 14-23.

DELINQUENCY

Rates of Delinquency

> "Throughout the nation, on Indian reservations and in urban centers, Indians have been arrested and convicted for illegal acts while under the influence of liquor at rates several times higher than have individuals of other minority groups. Furthermore, Indians have a crime rate for non-alcoholic connected crimes higher than the national average and higher than any other minority group in the nation."[5]
>
> Omer Stewart

According to Stewart (using 1960 statistics), "for the nation as a whole, the rate of Indian criminality is nearly seven times that of the national average." In the state of South Dakota where 5% of the population is Indian, 34.3% of the population in the State Penitentiary is Indian (1955).[6]

To determine whether the rate of delinquency among the Oglalas is also higher than for the general U.S. population and for the U.S. Indian population, we compared the arrest rates on the Pine Ridge Reservation for 1967 as recorded by Law and Order with statistics from the FBI Uniform Crime Reports for the U.S., 1967. We should caution the reader that this type of comparison is not completely valid because of discrepancies in reporting and differences in the character and coverage of law enforcement agencies. The purpose of such a comparison is merely to provide a very general measure of the extent of delinquency here in relationship to other populations.

In 1967, there was a total of 6,150 arrests here in a population of 10,000. This compares to 2,017 arrests per 10,000 among U.S. Indians and 372 per 10,000 in the national population. The arrest rate among Pine Ridge Indians is three times higher than for Indians in general and over sixteen times higher than the national rate. In regard to the seven more serious crimes (see Table 6), the Pine Ridge rate is three times higher than for U.S. Indians and over four times higher than for the national population.

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[5] Omer Stewart, "Questions Regarding American Indian Criminality" in Human Organization, Vol. 23, p. 65.

[6] Ibid., pp. 61 and 62.

TABLE 6

ARREST RATES, ALL AGES, BY TYPE OF OFFENSES AMONG PINE RIDGE INDIANS (1967) AND AS COMPARED TO U.S. RATES (1967)*
(Arrests per 10,000 Population)

Offense Charged	Pine Ridge Indian	U.S. Indian (Estimated)	Total U.S.
Serious Crimes	318	109.2	68.3
Criminal homicide	3	1.1	.8
Forcible rape	5	1.3	.9
Robbery	4	6.0	4.1
Aggravated assault	18	11.2	7.3
Burglary	29	26.8	16.4
Larceny	244	46.2	30.7
Auto theft	15	16.6	8.1
All Other			
Other assaults	400	27.2	15.8
Arson	3	.6	.5
Forgery & counterfeiting	2	3.9	2.3
Fraud	8	4.1	4.0
Embezzlement	1	.3	.4
Stolen property, buying, receiving etc.		3.0	2.0
Vandalism	261	7.2	7.5
Weapons, carrying, etc.	6	5.0	5.0
Prostitution & commercialized vice		2.2	2.7
Sex offenses		4.0	3.7
Narcotic drug laws		3.1	6.9
Gambling		.2	5.8
Offenses against family & children	96	7.5	3.8
Driving under the influence	120	63.0	19.3
Liquor laws	282	54.2	14.4
Drunkenness	2620	1409.6	104.0
Disorderly conduct	778	119.8	37.7
Vagrancy	4	27.5	7.3
Curfew and loitering	91	15.0	6.5
Runaways		20.8	8.9
All other (except traffic)	1160	129.5	44.9
Total Arrest Rate	6150	2017	371.6

*U.S. rates taken from FBI, Uniform Crime Reports for the U.S., 1967.

Especially high in comparison to U.S. rates are those for drunkenness (25 times higher), other assaults (25 times higher), disorderly conduct (20 times higher) vandalism (35 times higher) and offenses against family (25 times higher).

Let us look at the statistics in another way - the distribution of arrests according to the type of offense (see Table 7). Among Pine Ridge Indians only 5.2% of the total offenses would be classified as one of the seven more serious offenses. This compares to 5.4% among U.S. Indians, 22.7% among U.S. Negroes and 16.3% among U.S. Whites. Although the rate of serious crimes committed by the Oglala was higher than the national rate, the percentage of serious crimes among total arrests was less than for other populations.

Almost half of the offenses committed by Pine Ridge Indians were directly related to alcohol (49%). These included driving while intoxicated (2%), violation of liquor laws (4%) and drunkenness (43%). Alcohol-related offenses accounted for 76% of U.S. Indian arrests, 28% of Negro arrests and 41% of White arrests. If one includes disorderly conduct arrests (most disorderly conduct charges here involve drinking) the difference would be less between Pine Ridge and Indians in general: 62% and 82% respectively. It would seem, however, that offenses for which the primary charge is not directly related to alcohol are higher among the Oglala than among other Indian groups. These include a higher percentage of assaults and vandalism among Pine Ridge Indians. We should point out that it is estimated that most Indian crimes (95% to 98%) are committed while under the influence of alcohol. This seems to indicate that drinking here is more likely to result in aggressive acts than among Indians in general.

TABLE 7

ARRESTS BY TYPE OF OFFENSE AMONG PINE RIDGE INDIANS AS COMPARED TO OTHER U.S. GROUPS (1967)*

(Percentage Distribution)

Offense Charged	Pine Ridge Indian	U.S. Indian	U. S. Negro	U. S. White	Total U.S.
Serious Crimes	5.2	5.4	22.7	16.3	18.4
Criminal homicide	.05	.05	.4	.1	.2
Forcible rape	.1	.07	.4	.2	.2
Robbery	.1	.3	2.2	.5	1.1
Aggravated assault	.3	.5	3.0	1.2	2.0
Burglary	.5	1.3	5.1	4.1	4.4
Larceny	4.0	2.3	9.2	8.1	8.3
Auto theft	.2	.8	2.4	2.1	2.2
All other					
Other assaults	6.5	1.3	5.9	3.8	4.2
Arson	.05	.03	.1	.1	.1
Forgery & counterfeiting	.03	.2	.5	.6	.6
Fraud	.1	.2	.7	1.3	1.1
Embezzlement	.02	.01	.07	.1	.1
Stolen property, buying, receiving, etc.		.1	.6	.4	.5
Vandalism	4.2	.4	1.4	2.3	2.0
Weapons, carrying, possessing, etc.	.1	.3	2.4	1.0	1.3
Prostitution & commercialized vice		.1	1.5	.3	.7
Sex offenses		.2	.9	1.0	1.0
Narcotic drug laws		.2	1.6	1.6	1.9
Gambling		.01	3.5	.5	1.6
Offenses against family & children	1.6	.4	1.2	1.0	1.0
Driving under the unfluence of alcohol	2.0	3.1	3.4	6.1	5.2
Liquor laws	4.6	2.7	2.0	4.6	3.9
Drunkenness	42.6	69.9	23.0	29.9	28.0
Disorderly conduct	12.7	5.9	12.7	9.3	10.2
Vagrancy	.1	1.4	1.7	2.1	2.0
Curfew & loitering	1.5	.7	1.4	2.0	1.7
Runaways		1.0	1.4	2.9	2.4
All other (except traffic)	18.9	6.4	11.4	12.7	12.1

*U.S. rates taken from FBI, Uniform Crime Reports for the U.S. 1967.

Juvenile Delinquency

Calvin Long* has spent at least three months of the eleven years of his life in jail. He has a police record of thirty-two arrests for theft and one for arson.

His mother seems completely incapable of controlling him in spite of threats and beatings. Being punished by incarceration also has had little effect.

About two years ago, his parents separated. Their marital existence was characterized by violent quarrels. Mr. Long who was mostly unemployed went on frequent binges which resulted in beating up his wife and arrests for stealing and disorderly conduct. Mrs. Long worked steadily at the fishhook factory in Kyle.

Calvin's delinquent acts had begun before the departure of his father. In fact, they were aided and abetted by Mr. Long who took Calvin's part when he got into trouble for stealing.

After the closing of the fishhook factory, Mrs. Long had to depend on welfare payments to support herself and her children. Not working, however, did not make her into a better mother. She sank deeper into melancholia marked by strong desires for self-destruction. Relief was found through alcohol intoxication and promiscuous behavior.

Calvin continued to steal money from wallets and groceries from people's houses. His mother became increasingly unable to cope with him and would berate him by telling him he was "just like his father." This statement, however, pleased Calvin because he identified with his father. Calvin would occasionally disappear and his mother believed he was looking for his father in the bars in White Clay. She saw much in Calvin to remind her of her ex-husband and as a result she rejected him. Calvin responded by being more delinquent and thus being more like his father.

Due to the home conditions, it was recommended that Calvin be placed in a foster home, but no one has been willing to take Calvin who is a "defiant, hostile and baiting" little boy.

In considering offenses committed by Pine Ridge Indians under eighteen years of age, the rate of arrests is approximately 1,120.7 per 10,000 population as compared to an estimated 270.7 in the U.S. juvenile population. The juvenile rate of arrests is thus over four times that of the national population. However, it is of interest that only 9.5% of all arrests here in 1967 involved juveniles. This compares to 24.3% in the national population, 25.6% among U.S. Whites, 22.2% among U.S. Negroes and 8.3% among U.S. Indians. (See Table 8).

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*Fictitious name.

TABLE 8
JUVENILE ARRESTS BY TYPE OF OFFENSE AMONG PINE RIDGE INDIANS AS COMPARED TO OTHER U.S. GROUPS (1967)*
(Percentage Distribution)

Offense Charged	Pine Ridge Indian	U.S. Indian	U. S. Negro	U. S. White	Total U.S.
Serious Crimes	16.8	26.0	46.6	33.0	37.0
Criminal homicide	.2	.05	.2	.05	.08
Forcible rape	.2	.08	.4	.1	.2
Robbery		.5	3.5	.4	1.4
Aggravated assault	.5	.9	2.2	.7	1.4
Burglary	1.2	7.8	11.8	9.0	9.7
Larceny	14.4	12.1	22.1	17.6	18.7
Auto theft	.3	4.6	6.4	5.2	5.6
All Other					
Other assaults	5.0	2.0	4.8	2.3	3.0
Arson	.3	.1	.3	.4	.4
Forgery & counterfeiting		.3	.2	.3	.3
Fraud	.2	.08	.2	.2	.2
Embezzlement			.01	.02	.02
Stolen property; buying, etc.		.3	1.0	.6	.8
Vandalism	18.7	2.7	4.1	7.1	6.3
Weapons; carrying, possessing	1.0	.5	1.5	.8	1.0
Prostitution & commercialized vice			.2	.03	.06
Sex offenses		.3	1.1	.9	1.0
Narcotics drug laws		.6	1.1	1.6	1.6
Gambling			.4	.06	.2
Offenses against family & children		.07	.05	.08	.06
Driving under the influence	.3	.6	.06	.3	.2
Liquor laws	4.5	8.5	.8	6.3	4.8
Drunkenness	21.6	17.7	1.3	3.0	2.6
Disorderly conduct	15.3	6.5	9.5	7.9	8.3
Vagrancy		.5	.7	.7	.7
Curfew violation & loitering	15.4	9.0	6.3	7.8	7.2
Runaways		12.4	6.4	11.3	9.8
All other (except traffic)	1.0	11.5	13.3	15.2	14.4
Total Number	583	10,011	314,953	915,143	

Offense Charged	Pine Ridge Indian	U.S. Indian	U. S. Negro	U. S. White	Total U.S.
% of Juvenile Arrests among Total Arrests	9.5	8.3	22.2	25.6	24.3
Rate of arrests per 10,000 population under 18 years of age	1,120.7				(Est.) 270.7

*U.S. rates taken from FBI, Uniform Crime Reports for the U.S. 1967.

As regards type of offense, again a smaller percentage of the arrests (17%) among Pine Ridge juveniles involve the more serious crimes. This compares to 26% among U.S. Indians, 47% among U.S. Negroes, 33% among U.S. Whites and 37% in the national population. A higher percentage of arrests here are for drunkenness and disorderly conduct (37%) than among U.S. juvenile offenders (11%). Also, a higher percentage of Pine Ridge juvenile arrests involve vandalism and curfew violation.

To understand something of the background of the juvenile offender, we selected 300 children who had been booked by the Tribal Police for alleged offenses committed during 1967.[7] Each offender was scored according to the number and gravity of the offense committed. The offender population was then divided into high and low offenders. The most prevalent offenses were truancy, disorderly conduct, curfew violation and malicious mischief.[8]

As for the offenders, 64% were males and 36% females. It is of interest, however, that in the 15-17 year age group, 42% of the offenders were girls. As one would expect as age increases, the number of offenders increase, the highest number being found among 17 year olds. In the 15-17 year age group, 32% of all boys and 23% of all girls in this age group had been booked at least once for an offense in 1967. Thus over one-fourth (27%) of all adolescents in the 15-17 year age group were involved in some kind of police action in a one year period. In regard to ethnic group, only a slightly higher percentage of offenders were Full Bloods (53%), but Mixed Bloods had a higher average delinquency score (3.97) than Full Bloods (3.45).

In order to determine whether the socio-economic characteristics of juvenile offenders differed significantly from non-offenders, we selected a control group of 300 non-offenders who corresponded in age and sex to the offender population but were selected at random within these categories. We thus have three groups for comparison: high offenders, low offenders and non-offenders.

In our comparisons, we found that one of the most significant differences has to do with parental presence. Among non-offenders, 63% lived with both parents as compared to 46%

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[7] This was practically the entire juvenile offender population. The only juveniles not included were those living off the Reservation or temporary residents of the Reservation who, therefore, had not been included in the Baseline Data Study.

[8] For details of juvenile offender study see E. Maynard, "Juvenile Offenses and Offenders on the Pine Ridge Reservation". in Pine Ridge Research Bulletin, No. 4, August 1968, pp. 9-24.

of the offenders (χ^2=16.8**). There is, therefore, a relationship between parental presence and delinquency - the child who is not living with both parents is more likely to be a juvenile offender than one who is living with both parents. Since parental presence is a significant factor in delinquency, one would expect that those children whose parent or parent surrogate received Aid to Dependent Children payments would be more likely to be juvenile offenders. This is true, 24% of the offenders and 12% of the non-offenders were ADC children and there is a significant difference (χ^2=14.4**). Of course, the fact of being an ADC child may be irrelevant - the lack of one or both parents and economic status are probably the more significant variables.

Also found to be significant was the economic situation of the household. Among juveniles, 59% of the non-offenders, 67% of the low offenders and 75% of the high offenders came from households in which the annual income was reported to be under $3,000. There is a greater likelihood that the offender will be from a lower income household than the non-offender (χ^2=4.7*) and an even greater likelihood that the high offender will be from a household where the income is under $3,000 than the non-offender (χ^2=6.2*). There is then a relationship between poverty and delinquency.

Even more significant is the relationship between delinquency and the employment pattern of the household. Among high offenders, 41% lived in households where no one was working in contrast ot 28% of the low offenders and 20% of the non-offenders. This means that offenders in general, are much more likely than non-offenders to come from households in which no one is working (χ^2=12.6**). Also, high offenders are more likely than low offenders to live in households where no one is working (χ^2=5.4*).

One can conclude that the home situation is an important factor in delinquency. More than one half of the juvenile offenders come from one-parent or parentless homes. In these cases, the remaining parent or substitute parent is apparently not able to provide the necessary controls to prevent the child from committing delinquent acts.

At the present time, juvenile detention facilities are highly inadequate. Arrested juveniles are placed in a cell adjoining those for adults. (The jail itself has air space for thirteen persons. The average number of prisoners detained at one time is approximately forty). Since family members of many of the juvenile offenders are not providing the adequate care and present detention practices are not conducive to rehabilitation, some type of separate facilities are needed for juveniles. This could be a cottage type of facility which would provide not only supervision, but counseling, guidance, education, vocational training and diagnostic evaluation. Since most of these children do not really have a home or the home cannot adequately meet their needs, upon leaving the detention facility they could be placed in foster homes with professional parents. These professional parents should have some training in dealing with "problem" children and have access to psychiatric counseling.

Adult Delinquency

To investigate the relationship of adult delinquency to other variables, members of the sample population were assigned delinquency scores from Law and Order records, based on type and number of offenses allegedly committed over a three year period. The scores range from 0 through 99.

Among the 1549 adults in the sample, 38% had committed at least one offense in the three year period, 54% of the males and 28% of the females; 47% of the Full Bloods and 28.5% of the Mixed Bloods. Following is a table showing one proportion of Indians by sex and ethnic group who had a police record for the period.

Full Blood males	62.2%
Mixed Blood males	44.4%
Full Blood females	36.5%
Mixed Blood females	19.2%

Among the delinquent population 29% had been arrested only once in three years, 15% twice, 12% three times, 6.5% four times, 37% five times or more and 17% ten times or more.

In the process of delineating the significant variables related to delinquency, we discovered that delinquency (involving arrests in which the primary offense was not alcohol related) and drinking offenses were highly correlated (r=.744**). Thus the person who commits offenses related to alcohol is very likely to have also committed non-alcoholic related offenses. However, many of these latter offenses were committed while under the influence of alcohol.

Considering the high correlation between delinquency and drinking, most of the variables related to delinquency are also related to drinking, but there may be some difference. Since we are using drinking offenses as our drinking measure, those variables related to drinking will be discussed in the following section. Here we will be concerned only with the non-alcoholic related offenses. For this measure, the drinking offenses were eliminated from the delinquency score. In short, we are talking about types of delinquency in which the person was booked for other than an alcohol offense even though the delinquent act may have involved drinking. The delinquency score is based on number and type of offense committed.

The new delinquency scores ranged from 0-50. 25% of the sample population had been booked for at least one non-alcoholic related offense over a three year period. The breakdown by sex and ethnic group according to percentage booked and mean delinquency scores are as follows:

TABLE 9
PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS BOOKED AND MEAN SCORES
FOR NON-ALCOHOL RELATED OFFENSES BY SEX AND ETHNIC GROUP
(Sample Population)

Group	% Booked	Mean Score
Total	25%	1.83
Male	37%	3.05
Female	17%	1.06
Full Blood	30%	2.26
Mixed Blood	20%	1.38
Full Blood male	41%	3.58
Full Blood female	22%	1.36
Mixed Blood male	33%	2.44
Mixed Blood female	12%	.75

N=1553

Looking at the relationship of other variables to delinquency, we find first of all that males are slightly more likely than females to have a higher delinquency score (r=-.177**) and this is true for both Group I (working) and Group II (not working). Age is related to delinquency only among those in Group II - the older the person, the less likely he is to commit delinquent acts not related to drinking. (Drinking offenses, however, do not decrease with age). Although Full Bloods have a higher mean delinquency score, statistically the difference between ethnic groups is not significant.

Between Group I and Group II the difference in delinquency scores is not significant, but when we look at the mean score for the various employment categories, we find significant differences. The unemployed members of the labor force have a higher mean delinquency score (4.39) than the employed full-time (1.82) and employed part-time (2.54). The mean score for housewives is 1.11, for the retired .65 and among the disabled 1.60.

There are significant correlations between delinquency in relationship to economic security and security of income. The correlations, however, apply to Group II among whom those with higher economic security and security of income have the lowest delinquency scores.

Interestingly enough, there is no relationship between delinquency and such factors as educational level, acculturation level, HOS and dependency.

Delinquency is related more to employment status and impoverishment than to those variables which could provide the means to change one's economic situation, i.e., better education, We seem to have here a different reaction than that shown by HOS. In the case of delinquency, regardless of levels of acculturation and education, these individuals apparently feel frustration over their position rather than hopelessness and respond by committing delinquent acts. It seems that among those who feel hopelessness and dependency, the reaction takes the form of neurotic behavior.

DRINKING

> "Friends, it has been our misfortune to welcome the White man. We have been deceived. He brought with him shining things that pleased our eyes; he brought weapons more effective than our own. Above all he brought the spirit water that made one forget old age, weakness, and sorrow. But I wish to say to you that if you wish to possess these things for yourselves, you must begin anew and put away the wisdom of your fathers."
>
> Red Cloud

It seems that the Oglalas have indeed "put away the wisdom of their fathers." Red Cloud apparently saw the development of drinking as a cultural pattern that has persisted to the present day. This pattern has acted as a disruptive force and yet paradoxically may have helped to alleviate the stressful circumstances attending the acculturation situation.[9]

Nearly all Oglalas drink alcoholic beverages but the degree and frequency, of course, varies among individuals. Generally, the pattern is to drink for the reaction - that is to obtain a state of intoxication. Since it is mainly the problem drinker in whom we are interested, we assigned to our sample population drinking scores in accordance with the number and type of drinking offenses committed during a three year period. It is assumed that most individuals who drink to excess and to the point of becoming problems to the family and the community will run afoul of the law.[10]

Among the sample population, 30% had been booked at least once for a drinking offense: 44% of the men and 21% of the women, 55% of the Full Blood men, 29% of Full Blood women, 31% of the Mixed Blood men and 13% of Mixed Blood women.

Drinking and Ethnic Group, Sex and Age

The drinking scores ranged from 0-44. Following are the mean drinking scores by sex and ethnic group.

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[9] For more detailed background information on drinking see E. Maynard, "Drinking as Part of an Adjustment Syndrome among the Oglala Sioux" in Pine Ridge Research Bulletin, No. 9, pp. 35-51.

[10] Graves found in his tri-ethnic study which included Indians that court records intercorrelated with self-report data in alcohol consumption and drunkenness. Theodore D. Graves, "Acculturation, Access and Alcohol in a Tri-Ethnic Community" in American Anthropologist, Vol. 69, Nos. 3-4, p. 307.

GROUP	MEAN DRINKING SCORE
Total Sample	1.72
Male	3.14
Female	.84
Full Blood	2.33
Mixed Blood	1.05
Full Blood male	4.03
Mixed Blood male	2.09
Full Blood female	1.19
Mixed Blood female	.44

Quite obviously there is a significant difference between males and females. The score for males is almost four times that for females (r=.264**). As regards ethnic group, the difference is less significant but there is a low correlation between drinking and ethnic group (r=.150**) which means that there is a slight tendency for Full Bloods to have a higher drinking score than Mixed Bloods. When, however, the groups are divided by male and female, the ethnic difference is significant only in the case of the females.

Although drinking scores among the younger Oglalas are slightly higher, there is no significant relationship between age and drinking scores. An older person is almost as likely to have a high drinking score as is a younger person.

Drinking and Acculturation and Educational Level

The relationship between acculturation and drinking is low, but significant (r=.108**) - there being a very slight tendency for those with low drinking scores to have higher acculturation scores. In Group I, (employed) the correlation is higher (-.199**) between acculturation and drinking. Among Group II respondents (not working) there is only a borderline tendency (-.056*) for those with high drinking scores to have low acculturation scores. It was found that educational level was not related to drinking in either group.

Drinking and Employment

Interestingly enough when our Group I (employed) and Group II (not working) are compared, one finds no significant difference in drinking scores between the two groups. However, housewives who form a large portion of Group II have a low mean drinking score (0.93). Incidentally, it is commonly believed that women receiving ADC payments drink more, but we find no significant difference in drinking scores between ADC recipients and those not receiving ADC.

When we examine the various employment categories, we discover a very significant relationship between employment and drinking (F=27.207**). The mean drinking score for the various employment statuses are as follows:

EMPLOYMENT STATUS	MEAN DRINKING SCORE
Unemployed	4.78
Disabled	2.88
Employment part-time	2.00
Employed full-time	1.42
Retired	1.28
Housewife	.93

Using the Scheffe' test of comparison of means, we find that the mean score for the unemployed differs significantly from every other group. Note that the score for the unemployed is three times higher than for those employed full-time.

The significance of the relationship between drinking and employment status holds for males, regardless of ethnic group. The unemployed Full Blood male has a drinking score of 6.14 compared to 3.26 among males employed full-time. The unemployed Mixed Blood male has a drinking score of 4.58 in comparison to 1.26 among the full-time employed.

We can conclude that the employed have lower drinking scores, but what about the effect of occupational status in drinking among the employed? To rate occupational status we used a modified version of Warner's scale of occupational status in which two is the highest status in our sample (professional, managerial, etc.) and seven is the lowest status (unskilled labor). The correlation between drinking and occupational status is significant (r=.202**). As occupational status increases, drinking scores decrease. For example, those in the highest occupational status category have a mean drinking score of 0.34 compared to 2.77 among those in the most menial positions.

Drinking and Economic Security

There is an inverse relationship between drinking and economic security in both Group I (r=-.208**) and Group II (r=-.087**) - that is the higher the economic security level, the lower the drinking score. The security of source of income is however, not correlated with drinking.

Drinking and HOS

A surprising finding is that drinking is not significantly related to psychiatric disorder as measured by HOS. Those with high drinking scores then do not necessarily have high HOS scores. We might go out on a limb and conclude from this finding that if drinking was not a socially acceptable means of escaping from psychological problems, one might have a higher rate of psychiatric disorders in the population.

In only one group does there seem to be a relationship between HOS and drinking. The disabled have high HOS scores and relatively high drinking scores. The fact of having an acceptable disability entitling one to welfare payment does not apparently decrease mental distress.

Drinking as Related to Delinquency, FTSDP and Auto Accidents

As we have already mentioned, there is a high correlation between drinking and delinquency not directly related to drinking offenses (r=.744**). The correlation is so high that one can conclude that drinking-delinquency form one variable. The person who commits drinking offenses is very likely to commit other types of offenses. This, of course, does not mean that other offenses committed did not involve alcohol. In fact, it is very rare for an Indian to commit an act of aggression against people or property while in a completely sober state. According to officials of Law and Order, nearly every crime on Pine Ridge (95% at least) involves drinking. Although in both Group I and Group II, drinking and delinquency are highly related, one finds in Group II, that as age increases, delinquency decreases, but not drinking. It seems that the more elderly are less inclined to commit delinquent acts other than those connected directly with drinking.

Also related to drinking is being charged with failure to support dependent persons (FTSDP). Those who have committed a FTSDP offense are more likely to have a higher drinking score (-.185**).

We also find a low but significant relationship between having been involved in an auto accident and drinking (-.133**).

Conclusions

As a result of our research we can conclude that drinking like delinquency is a reaction to the frustrations attending lack of meaningful employment and poverty. Also, we can say that drinking forms part of a syndrome or behavioral pattern which also includes delinquency and oftentimes unemployment. Other factors sometimes forming part of the pattern are FTSDP and auto accidents.

We believe that the alcohol adjustment syndrome evolved as a means of coping with the stresses resulting from an acculturation situation in which native institutions were not adequately replaced thus necessitating over-dependency on the government. Alcohol was a readily available means of alleviating frustration and anti-social behavior while intoxicated was often blamed on alcohol rather than on the individual. You might then say that drinking became a socially acceptable means of escaping from unbearable realities. While under the influence of alcohol, the Oglala could find an outlet for aggression, attain more affective social interaction, relieve ennui and boredom, feel greater mastery over himself and his environment and men could regain dominance over women.[11] Since release of aggression was often achieved through drinking, crimes against persons and property often accompanied drinking.

One might speculate that in the beginning, the alcohol adjustment syndrome developed as a kind of moratorium to meet existing stress, but proved so effective as a coping device that it developed into a deeply implanted behavior pattern for a segment of the population. Also, as basic socio-economic conditions did not change, there was little incentive to alter the pattern. In consequence, it became increasingly difficult for the individual to extricate himself from the pattern and so the Oglala was entrapped in a reaction to a situation not entirely of his own making.

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11. The functional role of alcohol in the adaptation process in relation to Indians has been noted by other investigators. Carl Mindell, "Clinical Aspects of the Use of Alcohol among the Oglala Sioux"; T.H. Hamer, "Acculturation Stress and Functions of Alcohol among the Forest Potawatomi"; E.P. Dozier, "Problem Drinking among American Indians, the role of Socio-cultural Deprivation"; Honigmann and Honigmann, "Drinking in an Indian-White Community."

Although we have implied that alcohol has a functional role in Oglala society, this is not to be misconstrued as a condonation of drinking. The dysfunctional aspects of drinking are all too apparent. Excessive or unrestrained use of alcohol may result in physical impairment, personality disorders and psychosis;[12] behavior disruptive to family and community organization; aggressions against persons and property and the misuse of economic resources.

Admittedly drinking is a serious problem among the Oglalas but as long as socio-economic conditions are not improved, drinking will continue to serve a function and so will not be substantially reduced through programs based solely on treatment. Such programs can have a permanent effect only if they form part of a general development program which includes an attack on the unemployment component of the alcohol adjustment syndrome.

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[12] Among Community Mental Health Program patients with acute chronic brain syndromes, 30% are due to alcohol intoxication and alcohol problems account for 64% of all personality disorders among males and 29% among females.

ACCIDENTS

Twice during the final week of Melvin One Crow's* life, he dreamed of a man "all black with a bloody face."

Melvin's life had been completely changed by the contraction of tuberculosis. Previously he had been known as a reliable and steady worker. Now he and his wife had to depend on welfare. Shortly before the premonitory dreams, a new responsibility had been added with the birth of his first child.

The afternoon of October the 14th was spent drinking in White Clay with his friends and glasses were raised to "happy growing to your child." It was still daylight when Melvin walked out of the bar alone, got into his car and started toward Pine Ridge village. He weaved back and forth across the road and turned around, driving back on the wrong side of the road. Near Moccasin Park, a head-on collision occurred with a car filled with passengers. The result was three dead and four injured.

One of the major concerns of the Public Health Service is the high accident rate among Indians. In 1965, accidents were the second leading cause of death as reported by the PHS Hospital in Pine Ridge, accounting for 20% of the deaths. For the same year in the U.S., accidents accounted for 6% of the deaths. Accidents also accounted for 16% of hospitalizations in Pine Ridge in 1966 and was the second highest cause of hospitalization, exceeded only by obstetrical cases.

On our Baseline Data Study, questions about health problems revealed the extent of injuries sustained by the Oglalas. In answer to the question "Have you ever had a serious sickness or injury?". 16% of the adult sample reported having suffered some kind of injury and injuries constituted 33% of all serious sicknesses and injuries. Especially high was the rate of fractures. In fact, fractures led the list of sicknesses and injuries - one out of ten Indians had sustained at least one fracture.

A higher percentage of males and Full Bloods reported having had an accident resulting in a serious injury. The breakdown by sex and ethnic group is as follows: Full Blood males 27%, Mixed Blood males 22%, Full Blood females 11% and Mixed Blood females 9%.

Under what circumstances or in what settings did the accidents occur? The highest percentage of injuries resulted from vehicle accidents (33%), then home accidents (17%), animal accidents (17%), work accidents (11%), armed forces accidents (6%) and as a result of aggressive acts (2%). It is interesting that among Mixed Blood males, animal accidents exceeded vehicle accidents and accounted for 31% of Mixed Blood male accidents as compared to 21% among Full Blood males. The high proportion of Mixed Bloods having animal accidents is probably due to their greater involvement in ranching.

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*Fictitious name.

Considering those in the sample population who had been involved in auto accidents, we found that males were more likely than females to have had an auto accident. We also found low but significant correlations between drinking and auto accidents and FTSDP and auto accidents - that is the person involved in an auto accident is more likely to have a higher drinking score and to have been charged with failure to support dependent persons. As stated in the previous section, auto accidents often form a part of the alcohol adjustment syndrome.

It has been assumed by many people that accidents are often indicative of self-destructive behavior and may be conscious or unconscious suicide attempts. James Wills, a social worker at Pine Ridge who has been engaged in accident research, challenges this theory. He feels that in some cases, accidents occur as a means of coping with "identity anxiety." Accident victims often seem to be individuals who are suffering tremendous frustration due to being unable to fulfill aspirations, support their dependents, etc. Being involved in an accident is a way of calling a moratorium on one's problems and so putting "an end to personal and/or social pressures to accomplish certain duties" or giving "the person enough of a lapse of time to evaluate just what is and was happening... and possibly what could be done about it." He concludes that the accident victim does not always want to die, but may be "desperate to find a better way to live."[13]

The results of the Baseline Data and Wills' research indicate that accidents like drinking and delinquency may be coping mechanisms for the frustrations arising from the socio-economic conditions on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

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13. James Wills, "Psychological Problems of Sioux Indians Resulting in the Accident Phenomena" in Pine Ridge Research Bulletin, No. 8, pp. 49-63.

CHAPTER IX

CAUSES AND CURES

Summary of Conditions

> "In general, Indian reservation communities experience more poverty, less employment and restricted opportunities for personal advancement when compared to non-reservation communities.....Lack of educational attainment also limits employment opportunity, and the people of the Pine Ridge Reservation face problems of housing, sanitation and transportation which make big-city ghettos seem privileged in comparison." *

From our research, we can conclude that present conditions on the Pine Ridge Reservation place the Oglala Sioux as one of the most underprivileged groups in the U.S. A large proportion of the population subsists on unearned income or in what might be termed a state of dependent impoverishment. It is estimated that 65% to 70% of the people are living under conditions of economic deprivation - that is below the poverty level as set by national standards based on income and household size. The unemployment rate is over ten times higher than the national rate and available employment is often temporary and low status, offering little security or chance for advancement.

Educational levels are lower and school dropout rates higher than for U.S. Negroes and Whites - only 19% of those 25 years and over have completed high school. The economic environment is one of limited opportunities and low educational attainment serves to lessen viable alternatives in the selection of life goals.

Oglala society also manifests symptoms of acute social disorganization. Strong leadership is lacking and the Reservation and individual communities are divided by a destructive factionalism. There is thus little social interaction resulting in cooperation for community improvement.

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1. Paul Stuart, "The Reservation Community" in Pine Ridge Research Bulletin, No. 7, p. 77.

*See Errata, p. 184

Even more alarming is evidence indicating the extent of disintegration of the family structure, including both nuclear and extended units. Family disorganization is reflected in the high rates of divorce and separation and in the fact that 36% of the children are living with one or neither parent. It has been assumed that parental absence results in less trauma for Indian children because of the strength of the extended family. Relatives who act as secondary parents in the kinship system will take over the roles of surrogate parents in the case of a child who is orphaned or abandoned. The high rate of children placed in foster care (not with relatives) suggests that members of the extended family are now less willing to take on the responsibility for the parentless child. Our findings also show that parental absence is strongly affecting the Indian child. Children living in households in which one or both parents are missing are more likely than children living with both biological parents to become juvenile delinquents, suffer serious behavioral disorders[2] and underachieve in school. Disruptions in the social organization are also causing emotional insecurity and weakening societal controls which once upheld Indian moral values.

Accompanying or as a result of the above factors, are extraordinarily high rates of socio-psychological disorders including chronic drinking, delinquency, suicide attempts and deaths from accidents. Also, there seems to be a high incidence of psychoneurotic and psychophysiologic disorders.

Acculturation Situation

> "It would be an error to assume, however, that the Dakota show social differences and disorganization because of sheer slowness or stubbornness. This process of social change takes place in all groups, although not always with such disastrous effects or sharp contrast..... The Dakota in their change have had to move from a simple to a complex culture.....Events moved with great rapidity... and one economy after another was swept from beneath them."
>
> Gordon Macgregor[3]

Our research has revealed that the socio-psychological ills besetting the Oglalas are related to the socio-economic conditions on the Reservation. Now we must ask how these conditions arose and what has been the impetus behind their perpetuation. Since they did not exist or existed only in attenuated form in the traditional society, one must assume that they developed mainly from the acculturation or social change situation resulting from Oglala-White contact.

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[2] Among cases of children with behavioral disorders serious enough to be seen by CMHP personnel, 67% are living with one or neither parent.

[3] Gordon Macgregor, Warriors without Weapons, p. 27.

The acculturation process among the Oglalas had been an especially traumatic one because of the loss without adequate replacement of the most vital aspects of the culture. The most devastating loss was that of a stable economic base. The end of the buffalo and the failure of the cattle industry left the Indians largely dependent on government employment and welfare. Also destructive was the shattering of the political structure which had provided leadership and organization to the family, the band and the tribe. Likewise weakened was the highly developed religious philosophy and rituals which had given meaning to life through providing a sense of oneness with nature, a way to control one's destiny and an affirmation of ethnic identity. The loss of economic, political and religious roles left the Oglalas with few avenues for attaining status. Especially weakened was the role of the male within the family and in the society and this in turn placed a heavier burden of responsibility on the female. Traditionally, the main activities centered around such male pursuits as hunting and warfare. The loss of the warrior-hunter role left the men without purpose in life and the resulting frustrations led to the development of the alcohol adjustment syndrome.

When one talks about the difficulties of the acculturation process, someone will usually cite the example of immigrant groups from Europe, many of whom managed to become acculturated within one or two generations, the implication being that something is wrong with Indians because of their slowness and resistance to change. The comparison is a fallacious one. Most European immigrants came voluntarily and with high aspirations which required them to change in order to gain advantages in the new society. The Sioux were forced as a defeated people to alter their lifeways. In this situation one has the dominant culture composed of U.S. Whites and the subordinate culture - in this case, the Oglalas. The dominant culture, sometimes with good but misguided intentions, sought to convert the Oglalas into model American citizens through forced change. The strategy consisted of a willful destruction of native institutions without regard to the consequences and the denigration of Indian customs and values through the educational system. The Indians quite correctly viewed this as an attempt at de-Indianization and so tried to counter these attacks on their culture through passive resistance.

Impediments to acculturation also involved the lack of exposure or access to certain elements of the dominant culture. The Oglalas were isolated geographically by the reservation system and contact with Whites was limited to government employees, ranchers and missionaries who treated them with condescension or as children who required paternalistic guidance. There was thus little day-to-day social interaction of an egalitarian nature between the two societies. Furthermore, opportunities were not provided for the Oglalas to achieve economic levels or status positions comparable to the Whites.

Accessibility to the dominant culture was not only denied through the lack of economic resources, but also through the inculcation of feelings of inadequacy by treating Indians as inferiors and degrading their customs. The Indians responded as would be expected under the circumstances - by internalizing the attitudes of the Whites. They began to believe they were inferior and so incapable of achieving high educational and occupational levels and assuming the responsibilities of leadership.

The Oglalas were left in a condition of deculturation or semi-acculturation because of being blocked from taking on certain elements of the dominant culture and because of their resistance to change out of fear of losing their cultural identity. Many of the old institutions had crumbled and could not be revived. The youth especially were caught between two value systems with the resulting feelings of alienation in regard to both cultures.

The Oglalas are not able to return completely to the traditional culture because many of the pivotal elements which formed the bases for that culture have been destroyed. One cannot fence off the Reservation and bring back the buffalo. The only road is toward acculturation, but this is feared because it threatens Indian identity. Acculturation, however, does not necessarily mean assimilation and so a loss of Indianness. There is every reason to believe that raising acculturation levels would strengthen Indian identity because it would promote greater independence and ethnic pride which would in turn bring about a cultural renaissance. Our research,in fact, suggests that raising acculturational levels may decrease rates of psychoneurotic disorders.

To foster acculturation requires that the Oglalas have access to the same economic and educational advantages as the Whites, that high level performance be expected from the Oglalas and that they shed their over-dependency by being allowed to shape their own destiny through a process in which the Oglalas demand greater control and the government agencies voluntarily relinquish their paternalistic hold.

Over-Dependency and Powerlessness

> "The government agency is used as an extension of the person in many areas of living. It's as if the person has few capabalities of his own when in relation to the government agency. If he has some problem it is not infrequent that he thinks first of going to the government agency before attempting to attack the problem himself. In effect the relationship is symbiotic but only in some areas, so that it is focal symbiosis."
>
> Carl Mindell[4]

The most deleterious effect of the acculturation process has been to create over-dependency and powerlessness. Military defeat, confinement to the Reservation and the breakdown of traditional institutions left the Oglalas in a state of powerlessness that fostered an over-dependency on the U.S. government. This was all the more hateful because it involved reliance on the enemy and was, therefore, a hostile dependency.

As a defeated people whose economy had been disrupted, the Oglalas had little recourse but to accept government handouts. The government had in fact, encouraged this type of dependency by using rations as a form of bribery to coerce the Indians into signing treaties, obeying agency rules and staying off the warpath. Indian leaders responded by demanding as much compensation as possible in the form of rations, annuities and services. Any concession was viewed as an expiation for the loss of land and liberty. In consequence, the Indian **felt** that it was the obligation of the government to provide him services in recompense for wrongs perpetrated against his ancestors.

This brought about the creation of a government bureaucracy to render services to the Indians. Thus a symbiotic relationship developed between the government and the Indian. Each depended on the other for survival and so the system became self-perpetuating and as deMontigny points out, evolved into a situation in which "Thinking what would happen if the helper quit helping and those needing help quit asking for help is too dangerous to contemplate."[5]

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[4] Carl Mindell, M.D., "Notes on Identity Diffusion and Focal Symbiosis in an American Indian Tribe," p. 4. (mimeographed).

[5] Lionel deMontigny, M.D., "Attitude of Low Expectancy" in Pine Ridge Research Bulletin, no. 9, p. 34.

The extent of over-dependency is reflected in the degree to which the Oglalas have abdicated former community and family functions to the government agencies due to impoverishment and government intervention in community and family affairs. Also contributing to over-dependency has been the proliferation of service positions which have made it less necessary for the people themselves to perform services that were once family and community obligations.

In extreme cases, government personnel have rendered such services as transporting boys from their homes to sports fields for practice in the summer - even when the field is a few minutes walk, cutting and hauling firewood for families and cutting weeds in yards of households in which an able-bodied man was present.

In our research, we asked the sample population various questions concerning areas of responsibility in regard to community and family problems. We found, for example, that in the installation of a community water system that less than half of the Indians felt that the community had the responsibility for paying for materials or installing the pipes. As regards responsibility in the case of an orphaned child, 44% of the Indians in contrast to 15% of the Non-Indians said that the government should support the child.

There is a growing realization on the part of the Indians themselves of the pernicious effect of dependency. 6% of the Indian sample population said that the best thing the government could do for the Indian people would be to grant them greater independence and 13% stated that it would be a good idea for the government to get out of Pine Ridge either because Indians were too dependent on the government or because they felt the government did no good.

Release from over-dependency requires first that both the Indians and the government agencies desire this and that they work together to bring about greater independence through the development of economic resources and the granting of more power to Indians by increasing self-determination and involvement in government programs. In regard to prevailing services the Indian should be given greater responsibility in planning the services, either through acting as members of a board of directors or through the Tribal Council. No services should be added unless the Indians take the initiative in requesting and planning them and only if they contribute either money, material or labor. Some Indians will denounce this as an attempt of the government to renig on its obligations. Most Indians, however, will see this as the only way in which they can shed their powerlessness and obtain services geared to their special needs.

Remedying the Situation

"Perhaps it would be well to re-emphasize some basic facts about the behavior of man so we can better understand the differences that we see in cultural group behavior. Man is an adaptive, coping being who seeks to bring under his control the forces around him. Or, if failing to accomplish that, learn how to live or co-exist with the forces. Man is a problem solving animal and his survival through the ages attests to the razor edge skill of that ability. Man's goals are to live in safety, free from fear of physical harm; free from anxiety of the physical needs of hunger, warmth and shelter; and free from fears connected with the fulfillment of such needs as socialization, love and worthwhileness. Man seeks or is driven, by a yet unknown energy, to self realization and fulfillment, much like a flower or tree seeks to attain its greatest potential dependent on the conditions of its nutrients. All this man does because of his intelligence and because he creatively allows his intelligence to fashion the tools to master his social and physical environment. The clue to man is his ability to fashion and use tools. If many of the tools are taken away - or for some reason denied a group, then that group's growth and ability to maintain a responsibility for itself become thwarted. If a group is dominated and dehumanized by another group then the former group is reduced to developing ways to continue supplying vital needs, but in a servile and non-threatening way to the latter group. (There is much evidence for this in studying the psychology of prisoners in World War II). The Oglala Sioux have and are continuing to live in a situation where the freedom to fashion and use tools for preservation and growth are denied them. It is no wonder they score high on social disorganization. The wonder is they live at all. And the answer can be found in the nature of basic facts about man. The Oglalas (or any other group with similar conditions) have demonstrated their strength by surviving and their behavior is not maladaptive but specifically designed to adapt to an extreme poverty situation where normal access to solving ones own problems has been denied. The alcohol adjustment syndrome is only one of the few avenues or solutions the Oglalas have to cope with their problems. Accident, suicide, improper use of health facilities, an attitude of worthlessness, child neglect and apathy are a few other coping behaviors."

"The answer to the Oglala recapturing the roles of self-responsibility and industriousness is a restoration of their rights to human dignity, respect and self-determinism."

Marvin Rosow

Ever since the formation of the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1878, there has been a great deal of tongue clicking among participants and observers of reservation life over the appalling conditions. Millions of dollars have been spent by government and private agencies, several hundred researchers, notebooks and questionnaires in hand, have tramped across the Reservation and dozens of experts have poured out words of wisdom for exorbitant consulting fees. The Oglalas remain entrapped in essentially the same lamentable socio-economic situation that existed sixty years ago and in some instances the situation has worsened. It's true that the Oglalas have been kept alive through government subsistence, health problems have decreased and educational levels raised. However, social malaise marked by hopelessness, lack of spirit, social disorganization, etc., remains unabaited.

How do we explain the continuing disintegration of a once proud people? We believe that the answer lies in the fact that so far attacks on problems have focused on symptoms rather than causes. Although symptoms can sometimes be treated with success, the most efficacious remedy is to attack the causes. This means replacement or revitalization of the weakened aspects of Oglala culture. The negative approach to problem solving that pervades the society and the government agencies must be eliminated. We know the problems, some of the underlying causes and we believe they can be solved.

What is required is a major development program over an extended period of time. Up to the present time, most programs have been small in scale, focused on one problem, of short duration, unintegrated with other programs, sometimes forced on the people without sufficient pre-planning, benefited the same segment of the population and not really involved the Indian people in their planning and execution. They have thus had little lasting effect and have left the Indian people apathetic over the initiation of new programs.

A development program to be successful must have sufficient funds and flexibility to be able to carry out its goals. The human resources required in the planning and execution of the program are, with few exceptions, available on the Reservation among both Indians and Non-Indians.

As we have discussed various problems, we have made some suggestions for their alleviation, but let us very briefly list what we believe should be the three primary areas of focus of a development program.

1. The elimination of dependent poverty through the creation of employment opportunities which will provide a variety of jobs on a reservation-wide basis and be based on cultural preference, offer challenging work and provide means for gaining status. This would include the introduction of three or four basic enterprises or industries located in various parts of the reservation, the promotion of tourism, the establishment of small businesses, and an increase and consolidation of Indian landholdings. Our research indicates clearly that unemployment is a key factor in socio-psychological disorders - there being a strong relationship between unemployment and drinking - delinquency. As Wax so cogently points out "Like Negro proletarians, what Indians want are jobs - preferably jobs that pay well and that offer opportunities for leisure, adventure, and participation in communal rituals, but in any case, jobs - and what they get are reformative programs and petty harassments of case work and of bureaucratic management of their communities."[6]

   To attract and promote economic development would require an all-out continuous effort on the part of the members of the development program supported by demands of the Indian people and backed by influential institutions or individuals who can help in pressuring for the location of enterprises on the Reservation.

2. Upgrading of the educational system through not only raising academic standards but by demanding and expecting high level performance on the part of Indian students, greater interaction between parents and school personnel and more community involvement in the administration of the schools.

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[6] Murray L. Wax. "Kindly Genocide" a review of "The Indian: America's Unfinished Business" compiled by William A. Brophy and Sophie D. Aberle in Kenyon Review, Vol. 31, Issue 3, 1969, p. 385.

Also the educational curriculum should continue to include courses on Indian culture and history and in fact, initiate such courses in the early grades. The intent of the courses should be to inculcate feelings of ethnic pride, but not through romanticizing the Indian. Unless, however, the ethnic pride engendered by the educational system is reinforced by the realities of their environment, the effect will not be a lasting one. In other words, the obliteration of the negative ethnic image requires that changes take place in the economic and political institutions.

3. Fostering of leadership and Indian power through strengthening the authority and dignity of the Tribal Council and creating in this legislative body greater responsiveness to community needs. Also more responsibility should be granted to Indians in the running of the government agencies so that eventually their functions will be taken over by local institutions under Indian management. Of vital importance in the development of leadership is to stimulate community organization - that is begin the process of involvement at the grass roots level. Only the local component of the OEO has been really active on this level. They have sought to provide feedback between the agency and the people through meetings in the community and through a task force comprised of community representatives who meet regularly with OEO personnel. This is encouraging Indian people to express their opinions and be more active in community development.

Development of these three areas will not eliminate the socio-psychiatric disorders, but should reduce them in time through strengthening the role of the male and the stability of the family, reducing the leveling effect and community divisiveness, stimulating independence and ethnic pride, offering choice in the selection of services, and improving living and health conditions by making it possible to have better housing and sanitary facilities.

Anyone living on the Pine Ridge Reservation for any length of time cannot help but be impressed by the inner strength of the Oglalas which has made it possible for them to survive as a society in spite of the disruptive forces of the social change process. It is now up to the Oglalas to use this strength to demand reforms which will mean a rebirth of pride. This is necessary in order that "these people may live" in the fullest meaning of that phrase.

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ERRATA

p. 10 - Long Valley is located in Eagle Nest District.
p. 42 - Paha Sapa
p. 68 - Treaty of 1868
p. 81 - Treaty of 1868
p.169 - Quote from article by Paul Stuart as footnoted.